

THE NEW
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

J. H. HARLEY



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THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY:

A Study for the Times

BY
J. H. HARLEY, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD ; FORMERLY
SCOTT SCHOLAR AND UNIVERSITY MEDALLIST OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF
JOURNALISTS

ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν
(The night is far spent. The day is about to dawn)
ROMANS xiii. 12

τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν δεῖ πρῶτον τῶν καρπῶν μεταλαμβάνειν
(The harvestman who labours in the field must be the first to
get a share of the crop).—2 TIMOTHY ii. 6

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TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE
NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS
WHOSE ARDENT ENTHUSIASM AND WONDERFUL
PROGRESS
DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS
HAS RENEWED MY BELIEF
IN THE
NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

PREFACE

THE twentieth century, after a first decade, has left us its heritage of unsettlement. A Divorce Commission is examining the very foundations of social life. The bitter memories of economic conflict have poisoned the air of the Welsh valleys. Religion is face to face with a "New Theology." The motives of judges and juries are curiously and closely examined. Political revolutions change the fortunes of kingships. Philosophers gravely doubt whether the inference that two and two make four holds for this and every other possible world.

It is a time above all for men and women of good will to make their voices heard. It is the easiest thing in the world to exacerbate the conflict. The most accomplished fool can be hoist on his own petard. There is certainly enough and to spare of inflammable material. In sight of us all—excited and determined—are the armies of the contending hosts. A few hasty words, some ill-considered deductions, almost the scratch of a pin-point, and Armageddon is upon us. And there is a certain mock-heroic aureole surrounding the heads of the apostles of brute force. The organs of public opinion record their achievements. Men whose tendencies are simply destructive find ready audiences, and their literary advocates smile with satisfaction at the assurance of temporary triumph.

It is not the purpose of this book to help in this work of destruction. Its author sincerely hopes that not one single page—not even a sentence—will add an additional motive to the spirits of those who are all for dissipating that hard won heritage which has been left us from the past. His purpose is reconstruction—not destruction. There is no need to deny the necessity for change—aye,

of thorough change. Society can never be fixed once and for all in a condition of unalterable rigidity. Transformations have changed its aspect before—and they can change its aspect again. “The old order changeth, giving place to the new.” But there is no reason why we should allow ourselves to be carried helplessly and hopelessly down the rapids that lead to Niagara. There are those on the banks who do not despair of the frailest craft struggling in the fiercest stream. At any rate, it is always advisable to make our reckoning and understand what we can and what we cannot accomplish. Some who ought to know better look on life much as the ancient mariners looked on a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Evolution is a process blindly leading us on to an unknown goal. It is the purpose of this book to dispel the dark clouds which Pessimism has stretched over some of the most hopeful of our social reforms. There is no reason why we should not understand whether we are passing in an unnatural process from the butterfly to the chrysalis or are simply undergoing the normal development from the chrysalis to something that is new and strange.

The prime necessity of our times, the author thinks, is not, as perhaps Carlyle would have put it, a new Social Autocracy—or even as many eminent social reformers would have it, a new Social Bureaucracy—but rather a new Social Democracy. No social investigator can push his inquiries very far without being brought closely into contact with certain influential forces loosely described by the common name of Socialism. This bequest from the nineteenth century is very difficult either to appraise or define. Beyond its capital letter, the name does not uniformly connote either a settled or a similar body of doctrines. Mr. Graham Wallas—whose book “Human Nature in Politics” is one of the few efforts in this country to apply modern Sociology to the problems of social reconstruction—gives as a rough working definition of “the Socialism which influences so many lives”

that of "a movement towards greater social equality, depending for its force upon three main factors: the growing political power of the working classes, the growing social sympathy of many members of all classes, and the belief, based on the growing authority of scientific method, that social arrangements can be transformed by means of conscious and deliberate contrivance." The author of this book can heartily accept this working definition, which he only read after the greater part of his book was actually complete. The Socialism of the arena is often very different from the Socialism of the cloister. If you want to estimate the scientific importance of the many reforming aspirations which have been owned in men's minds under the name of Socialism, you must not start with a chamber definition, or with carefully elaborated collectivist experiments; you must rather ceaselessly collect and inductively examine the many mixed motives which have swayed the minds of the members of the world-wide circle of Socialistic societies.

The distinguishing feature of our own days has been the advent of the masses to place and power. In far-off Assyria and Babylonia—as many modern excavators have revealed to us—there are records written on clay which show that slaves had legal rights and were permitted to acquire a certain measure of property. But in the earliest ages of human history there was a universal rule, to which no exceptions could be permitted—

"That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

The law of right was the law of might. The captive of your bow or boomerang was a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water." Very speedily society was scored and diversified by classes and divisions. There were the despot and his instruments; there were the Helot and the citizen of a so-called free democracy. The story of the emancipation of the common people is the motive which gives its character to all human development. It

underlies the struggle for Empires or the struggle for markets. It is no pleasant study. Its records are drenched in blood. The man of Macedonia at every age and time is ever bidding us come over and help him. But towards the latter part of the first half of the nineteenth century there springs up, as this book shows, the unexpected series of movements now known under the name of Socialism. The societies calling themselves by this title have drawn by far the larger part of their members from the working classes of their respective countries. This is a sign that the age-long struggle is drawing near its end and that all sections and classes of the people are to be reserved a place in the great banquet of life.

This aspect of the new Social Democracy—its association with the Labour movement—has received a large amount of attention in the chapters that follow. For the first time in human history society is laying bare its most ancient sores. Just as this preface is being written a statement has been issued from the Home Office giving the number of deaths from accidents in mines during the year 1910. What a black roll of death for the people! One thousand and ninety accidents, costing 1,620 lives! Six hundred and ten falls of side and roof, causing 634 deaths! But how different from the policy of silence in the good old times! Who can tell with what expenditure of human lives was reared the pyramid of Cheops? What Thucydides is there to relate the full unvarnished tale of the successive massacres of Helots?

Yet it was not the main purpose of this book to write a short history of the people. This—a work that urgently wants to be done—must be reserved for another time and opportunity. The people's emancipation is only described in the following pages as the growing political power of the working classes forms an essential element in the tendencies which go to make up the new Social Democracy. The start of its investigations is

rather from the other two factors which were said to be constitutive of the advanced social movements of our own generation—the prospect of the collaboration of all classes in the future reconstruction and the growing authority and influence of modern Sociology.

To take the last first, it must be said that the new Social Democracy can only succeed if it is profoundly scientific. Reason has received some very rude knocks in our own day. In one of the later chapters of this book it is pointed out how few are the members of human society that are influenced by its pure dictates. But that is because it has hitherto been emphasised more from its analytic and destructive side. When it is understood as not individual, but social—not as intellect, but as intellect plus will—not as attaining its full fruition in the silence of the cloister, but in the associated work and travail of discipleship—not as superseding the industrial or religious work of human society, but as completing and vindicating it—then Reason is looked on in a new light and appears destined to a much more speedy and effectual triumph.

At any rate, the effort is made in this book to broaden the new Social Democracy on some of the latest results of sociological research. Passing on from the more rigid and specialised Socialism which is connected with the name of Marx, the successive chapters seek to envisage a body of social democratic doctrine and practice which can hope to be true to many-sided human nature, and which shall neglect none of the varied influences that go to make up the play of powers and forces in the social system.

Ever swift and unceasing is the course of human events. A great Greek thinker made it his work to point out that the flying arrow rests. But the flying arrow only seems to rest for the veriest fraction of an infinitesimal period. In reality it is never still. The news of to-day are the platitudes of to-morrow. It is only three months since the chapters of this book were

written and left unpublished when the country was brought face to face with a General Election. Yet in these short three months many events of first-rate importance have happened, and it is proposed to devote what remains of this preface to an elucidation of their bearing on the main theses propounded in the following chapters. It is pleasing to have to suggest that in all respects they have corroborated the main conclusions of the new Social Democracy.

Take, for example, the revolution in Portugal. This was no Republic won by the people fighting behind the barricade. It was proceeded by no long series of bloody battles. Like the Turkish Revolution, it was brought to a successful issue because the soldiers and sailors—or the greater part of them—declared on the side of those who were determined to have a radical change. It seems certain that no advocates of physical force will succeed in the future unless they enrol on their side the great majority of the army and the navy. But once Portugal had expelled its king and the provisional Government had been established, what were the fresh decrees to be promulgated by the new executive? First, an order for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the land; second, a law for making divorce easier; third, a law giving to the Trade Union the right to strike. What a sociological method this of transforming a State! First, religion is reformed. The human spirit in its spiritual aspirations is freed from the domination of a benumbing tyranny. Then the domestic relations are reviewed. Next some economic shackles are removed. But that is the very way of changing the social system which Sociology suggests to the new Social Democracy. Society is composed of the simple and general, and of the complex and special. To change the aspect of society you must make some impression on the relations which are simple and general. And that is exactly what the Portuguese leaders are about when they begin with religion, eugenics, and economics.

Or take economics alone. A feature of the times

since the remaining part of the book was written has been a federation of the trade unions whose members are employed in the transport services of the country. The object of this is to connect the federation ultimately with the International Federation of Transport Workers and thus to form a world-wide industrial union of all those who convey the traffic of the social organisation. There are rumours of a universal strike as the result of widespread national dissatisfaction. This may or may not arrive. But how significant is the mere rumour that such events may happen! The tendency of economic associations, as subsequent chapters will show, is to become general and similar in all countries where Western civilisation has penetrated. And of all economical activities those are most simple and general which deal with circulation. The consummated International Union of Transport Workers is only, then, another illustration of the truth of the new Social Democracy.

France has confirmed the reputation which it acquired in the course of the succeeding chapters. The railwaymen's strike of the latter part of the year 1910 has thrown fresh light on the significance of State servants for the society of the future. Part of the men who went on strike were in State pay, and M. Briand, the Premier, sought to involve them as traitors who would not respond to the call to serve their country. Since then he has introduced a scheme which would settle all railwaymen's disputes by the mediation of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards. There is great dissatisfaction in working-class circles in France about the *modus operandi* of these Boards. It is pointed out that sanctions are imposed on the men which are not imposed on the masters. It is gravely doubted whether the legal penalties held over the heads of recalcitrant workmen could ever be really enforced. Surely there is something in these objections. Unquestionably a great danger ahead is a partially collectivist community whose State servants would be State slaves. Mr. H. G. Wells

and others have laughed away the objections of those who suppose that a Socialist State is a tyrant's Paradise, but there is still a quarter from which in the most blessed Socialist Utopia liberty can be gravely invaded. All the latest events in France point with no uncertain hand to the discussions of this book.

What constitutes the lesson of the successive ballot of boiler-makers on Tyneside? Surely this, that in the economic world the interests of master and men are not identical. In other words, it is an illustration of the contention of the new Social Democracy that for any real and lasting transformation in society economics must look forward to politics.

It is this same relation of economics and politics that is really implied in the many discussions of the Osborne Judgment. Undoubtedly there will have to be some kind of revision of the Osborne Judgment. It leaves too loosely undefined what a Trade Union can or cannot do. It may affect activities that are in no sense purely political. But so far as mere politics is concerned, it must be remembered that the Trade Unions of the other great European countries draw a sharp distinction between economic and political associations. The French Trade Unions—so far as they are syndicalist—eschew politics and despise the Labour M.P. The German Trade Unions keep free from politics, but recognise it as an independent branch of Labour activity. Such facts as these must be kept in mind when we are considering the whole results of this latest deliverance of the law lords.

Economics and politics—as will again and again be shown before this book ends—are different activities of different degrees of complexity in the social organisation. Economics lies nearer the days when nature was “red with tooth and claw.” There is continually in the economic world the suggestion of a war to the knife. Conflicts are settled or exacerbated by the rude arbitrament of the strike. The argument of imminent

starvation is the argument which draws the majority vote. Everywhere, too, are seen classes whose interests clash with one another, an unending "*bellum omnium contra omnes*" with "*vae victis*" for its distinguishing catchcall.

Politics, however, belongs to another and later period of society's history. The great writers of the latter part of the nineteenth century are never tired of depreciating it. Ruskin in "*Fors Clavigera*" boasted that he had never entered a polling booth! Who can forget the scathing description of Thomas Carlyle—"A mighty question indeed! Who shall be Premier, and take in hand the 'rudder of government,' otherwise called the 'spigot of taxation'; shall it be the Honourable Felix Parvulus, or the Right Honourable Felicissimus Zero?"

Yet it is to politics that the new Social Democracy must look for the first symptoms of appeasement. Politics introduces us to what Mr. Graham Wallas, in the provisional definition given above, has called "the growing social sympathy of many members of all classes." For this very reason the French Syndicalist looks on it with growing suspicion. He recognises that in its main conception it is a negation of the class war. He feels that the Trade Union official changes his venue when he passes from the office where he represents a trade to the Parliament where he represents his constituents. But all over Europe—and never more significantly than when the last words of the text were written—there has been a movement of Socialist political parties towards more comprehension and less exclusion. Our own Labour Party is revising its pledge to exclude the reference to "its own whips and policy." Italian Socialists, by leaving the Ministerial "*bloc*," may seem to be deserting the policy of comprehension which carried the day in their Congress of Milan towards the latter end of 1910. But assuredly this scission is only temporary. The trouble is about the conditions attending the gift of universal suffrage, and when the

suspensions are removed the situation will again be normal.

In Germany itself, that land of iron-clad politics, the Socialists of the South have revolted against the uncompromising politics of their comrades of Prussia. The Landtags of some of the Southern communities are asking how the votes of their State have been cast in the matter of the future constitution of Alsace-Lorraine. M. Jaurés is still against the government in France. But no one can doubt that M. Jaurés and his party were much more influential political forces in the days when they formed part of the Ministerial "bloc" of the Progressive Premier, M. Coombes. The only fruit of their latter-day isolation has been that the present Premier, M. Briand, has been thrown into the arms of the reactionaries, and that the last state of France is worse than the first.

It is to the soothing and renovating influence of politics and religion that this book looks for the most immediately significant results of the new Social Democracy. I hope in a future volume to give more extended consideration to the significance of modern social movements on their religious side. It can have escaped no one that during the last few years the early history of Christianity has been completely re-written. Old pieces of forgotten papyri have yielded up their secrets. Fragments of pottery have told a tale of the real significance of the people's life. And the result is that Christianity is being seen to be no body of doctrines to be buried in the dust of theological tomes, but a voice from the people's heart—a revolutionary movement, if ever any movement was revolutionary in this or any other time.

In the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth century it is the religious passions that give power and force to popular revolt. In Portugal the rush at priests and convents showed what thoughts were simmering all the time in the people's mind. The papal pronounce-

ment on Carlo Borromeo sent Germany into convulsions. The condemnation of the Sillon has added fuel to the anti-clerical fire in France. At Madrid and Bilbao it is the revolt against spiritual domination which draws huge audiences into open squares for impassioned protest. He who would neglect such influences as these has certainly earned no right to cast the horoscope of the future.

Politics and Reason are the most highly specialised manifestations of society's life. The stress laid on religious activity does not mean that we need deny the highest when we see it. The religion of the future will be a manifestation of social activity. The best man will be the best citizen. There will be no fear of Reason. Reason will be the most conclusive vindication of faith. Why should we despair of the future? The coming days are fuller of hopes than fears. It is the final purpose of this book to reinforce the faith of every stalwart worker for To-morrow.

J. H. HARLEY.

January 20th, 1911.

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ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT

I

THE QUESTION STATED

Socialism surprised us by its wide extension, but it is a comparatively modern development. The first use of the word was in 1832. Before that date advanced reformers called themselves democrats, republicans, or philanthropists.

This book makes a distinction between the "old Socialism" and "the new Social Democracy." The former is connected with the name of Marx.

Socialism will never be understood unless the religious fervour of its devotees is recognised. But the time has come for basing its practical proposals on the modern science of Sociology. This is a question which is set out in this book. Modern Sociology seeks to consider all the "tissues" or "relations" of society.

II

CAN SOCIETY BE TRANSFORMED?

The objection may be raised at the threshold that it is impossible or impracticable to transform society, and Edmund Burke has put all such objections in language of imperishable beauty. In order to understand the personality of Burke and to see how he came to arrive at his sociological conservatism, a sketch is given of his life in connection with the political history of his time.

Burke was not always consistent in his sociological conservatism. In his speech on American Conciliation he admitted that the Americans had created a new state. But in his writings on the French Revolution he based his Sociology on the theory of an original contract. This original contract must be kept at all hazards except under such special circumstances as the English Revolution of 1688.

By the very progress of his own thought Burke was, however, in one of his most splendid passages, forced to admit the organic nature of society. Sociology has completed his refutation by showing that the "tissues" of society can be placed in an ascending order of complexity. Burke himself saw in the case of the Carnatic that if the reservoirs were destroyed, the whole civilisation of the Carnatic would collapse.

The French Revolution was mostly a political convulsion, and so left untouched the simpler centres of society's life. Had Burke seen far enough, he would have recognised that there was coming an Industrial Revolution which would change the whole face of society.

III

A FORECAST IN 1901

The test of a science is its ability to predict. If Sociology is to be regarded as scientific it must enable us to forecast the future. In this chapter there is reprinted a forecast of 1901.

It was a feature especially of the religious and social movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century that they owed their first inspiration to German influences. The suggestion is made that the German influence will be continued, and the experiment is tried of forecasting the history of British Social Democracy.

German Socialist theory during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century has been largely Revisionist—it has been a movement away from Marx. British Social Democracy in the twentieth century will also be strongly Revisionist, but, so far as politics is concerned, it will take a line of its own.

IV

THE SITUATION IN 1910

In 1910 it is expedient to review the earlier forecast. In this way it will be possible to discover how far it has been sustained by subsequent events and to what degree it is possible to assign a reason for the fulfilment of the forecast.

In the case of the Revisionist prophecies there is no doubt of their correspondence with subsequent events. A sketch is given of the subsequent "movement from Marx" in Germany, and it is shown that the current phrases, "monopoly value" or "unearned increment," do not mean any adoption of the Marxian theory of "surplus value."

This part of the chapter has dealt mainly with the economic side of the Marxian gospel. In a sketch of the rise of the Labour Party, political questions are raised and the forecast made in 1901 is justified. The Labour Party in Britain has taken a political course of its own, but its constituent trade unions have not always recognised the difference between their warfare in economics and their peace in politics.

In order to complete the account of the situation in 1910 a survey is given, under the same heads as the subjects dealt with in the preceding chapter, of the main currents in the Socialism of the time. Small workshops have not been all superseded, Socialism has been compelled to consider legal problems, religion has become more pressing in its appeals. Russia has had a tragic history to add to the special fortunes of Socialism in widely different lands.

V

ANATOLE FRANCE AS A SOCIALIST

Sociology has recognised the importance of the functions of art in society. The modern Realist movement insists on dealing with every aspect of society's life. Modern artists are increasingly on the side of the new Social Democracy.

This thesis is illustrated by a detailed survey of the life and estimate of the works of Anatole France. There are three strata in his personality, but running through them all is the hatred of oppression and a great love for the people.

In two of his works, the "White Stone" and the "Isle of the Penguins," he has dealt with the social democratic future. The first shows marked affinities to William Morris and Mr. H. G. Wells, but the second deals in his own characteristic fashion with the theories of French Syndicalism.

VI

PROUDHON AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Sociology recognises the supreme value of political "tissue" in its power of initiating changes, and the Socialist movement made a great step forward when it sent members into the European Parliaments.

The most characteristic side of the political advance was the appearance of Labour members. France was the country where this side of the Socialist movement was first seen, and Proudhon gave the initial impulse.

A survey is given of the life and work of Proudhon, but special attention is drawn to the posthumous book on "The Political Capacity of the Working Classes," which is a classic of the Labour movement.

VII

THE COLLAPSE OF COLLECTIVISM

The transition to political questions, however, raises some special difficulties. What are the Labour members to do when they get into Parliament? In order to answer this question it is necessary to discuss the favourite Socialist theory of Collectivism.

This involves a survey of the history of Trade Unionism in its use of the economic weapon of the strike. French politics has been more revolutionary than British, and

hence, by taking the French precedent, the relation of politics to economics may be seen in sharper relief.

The French politician was in no hurry to recognise Trade Unions at all. It was not until 1884 that workmen were allowed freely to combine and their unions to acquire property. The moment, however, the unions of State servants endeavoured to take advantage of the law of 1884, the French politician cried "Halt."

The seriousness of this economic disfranchisement of State servants is illustrated by the postal strike of 1909. The result of this abortive effort was a victory for the Government, and it is apparently part of the official theory of French politics that State servants shall not be able to join the "economic" organisations of non-State workmen, or to strike in sympathy with them.

This is a very serious difficulty in the way of Collectivism. But there is no reason for identifying Socialism with the future of Collectivism. It may be, however, that French circumstances are peculiar. Hence the question is raised whether if the State were democratised, as in our own country, the case would be different. The answer is in the negative. Then the further plan is considered of postponing any further social legislation until the State is completely democratised. This also is shown to be impossible.

Hence the conclusion is drawn that social democratic evolution must not proceed always on Collectivist lines. Some of the more fundamental activities of communal life must be regulated by the general body of the people, but it is shown that a phenomenon of modern life has been the rise and progress of voluntary associations. In this way, Individualism and Socialism are reconciled. Biological analogies, too, break down before this complex side of society's life.

VIII

ARE LABOURISTS RADICALS?

Political activity necessitates a consideration of the special circumstances of every country. Hence in dealing with such a specialised side of society as the action of the British Labour Party in politics, it is necessary to give a survey of British political history.

British political parties have been divided into two. Before 1884 the House of Commons was the centre of interest, but after that time the constituencies became more influential. The Midlothian campaign of 1879 was decisive in its influence on the future.

It is impossible for the Labour Party, in view of the tendencies of British political history, to keep up an independent life. Their original successes were gained in quite special circumstances, and it is unlikely that they will repeat them. They will be forced to take sides along with the Radicals.

The British Labour Party is no analogue of the French Socialist Party. The latter (*a*) is composed of all classes, (*b*) has a definite programme which differentiates it from the Radicals. Neither of these qualifications are possessed by the British Labour Party.

Despite the differences in the political advancement of different countries, the more advanced European lands seem settling down to a conflict between two sides.

IX

THE RIGHTS OF REASON

Reason is the most specialised association of society. The power to follow a long connected argument is as yet a luxury of the few. Therefore not much help can be gained from argumentative discussion towards the universal diffusion of the new Social Democracy.

But it is necessary to consider the rights of reason because Marxian Socialism was greatly affected by the Hegelian dialectic. Collectivism was encouraged by reminiscences of Hegel's absolute State.

The Hegelian Rationalism is impossible. The most complete attempt to live out Hegel was that of Amiel of Geneva, and Amiel's life was one great complaint of insufficiency. The new Social Democracy gives Will its due place beside reason. It is experimental and democratic. The more perfect society of the future will be no brilliant *tour de force* of reason thought out in solitude; it will be the result of many failures and successes by many reforming societies.

X

REVIEW AND CONCLUSION.

The result of this book has been to show that society is composed of many "tissues" or "relations" or "associations" ranging from the simple and general to the complex and special. Taken in the order of their ascending complexity they are (1) domestic, (2) economic, (3) religious, (4) artistic, (5) legal, (6) political, and (7) rational.

The question may be raised by the reformer where a beginning can be most effectively made in the task of transforming society. The method of exhaustion is applied to the problem. Eugenics points to Religion, Economics to Politics; while Politics, Law, and Reason all presuppose some marked change in the general elevation of the component units of society.

A discussion is next given to Art and Religion. The importance of Art is recognised, but it is pointed out that Realism has its dangers if Art is to be looked upon as a means of raising the general level of humanity.

Religion is left. The new Social Democracy holds out its hand to religion. But it has often been objected that religion has been "other worldly." Christianity has been the most successful influence in the formation of voluntary societies. A short survey of the work of the Zürich minister, Hermann Kutter, is given in order to show that there is a movement in Christianity which is of fundamental importance for the new Social Democracy.

This renovated Christianity throws a glow into all other human activities. Therefore if the new Social Democrat puts his strength into such a religious movement he is doing what, from the standpoint of modern Sociology, will bring the greatest amount of immediate gain to every side of the work of the new Social Democracy.

THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

I

THE QUESTION STATED

THE UNIVERSALITY OF SOCIALISM—FIRST USE OF THE WORD—THE OLD SOCIALISM AND THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—SOCIALISM AS A RELIGION—ITS BASIS IN SOCIOLOGY—THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF TISSUE IN SOCIETY—THE POWER OF THE OLD SOCIALISM—HOPES FOR THE NEW.

Socialism is in the air. It challenges us whether we will or no. No aviator's skill can take him out of reach of its comprehensive influence. The Japanese "Elder Statesman" cannot protect himself against it. The Argentine official cries out for more coercion as he sees it settling down on his land. Its adherents are enthusiastic, energetic, hopeful. It proclaims "a new heaven and a new earth." It has its apostles, heroes, prophets, and martyrs. It requires a wealth of self-sacrifice, and the utmost extremity of personal devotion. No man or woman who wants to be really abreast of the times can avoid considering its importunate appeals.

But Socialism, as Socialism, is a comparatively modern development. There have, of course, been seers and reformers since ever human history began. Some of us are ready, and some of us are slow to move. Even Eatanswill was divided into its two great parties—the Buffs and the Blues. There have been the oppressor and the oppressed. There have been the despot and the democrat. Throughout all the long history of civilisation—hardly discernible at times in the books of contemporary historians, but known and marked by those

who explore every side-path of social evolution—there has been seen the struggle for freedom and equality of the Fourth Estate. It was not, however, till 1832, that the actual word "Socialism" was used in a paper, *Le Globe*, which had come to be regarded as an official organ of the School of St. Simon. On this particular occasion the word was only used casually. It suggested a philosophical contrast between "personal development" and "social development."* There was not the glimmering of a recognition in the writer's mind that he was presiding at the christening ceremony of a new and important movement in the world's history. In 1835 the ominous word was used in England in connection with the association of all classes of all nations, which was founded under the auspices of Robert Owen. From England it again took its way to France, and the well known historical works of Reybaud (1840), and Lorenz Stein (1842), sanctioned its use throughout the length and breadth of Europe. "Behold, how great a matter a small fire kindleth."

The new name only became current coin in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Before that time advanced reformers and thinkers like Morelly, Baboef, Spence, Hall, and Thompson, might call themselves democrats, republicans, or philanthropists. But never did they make use of the term "Socialist." Once, however, the appellation was seriously suggested, it touched the imaginations of men and women in many different countries and climes. It became a name of dread when from 1864 to 1873 it was connected with the Conferences and plans of the "Old International,"

* The words in *Le Globe* occur in an article of February 13th, 1832, entitled "Feuilles d'Automne." They are, "Nous ne voulons pas sacrifier la *personnalité* au *socialisme* pas plus que ce dernier à la *personnalité*." See for other early uses of the word "Weill"; "L'école Saint-Simonienne," p. 309; Menger, "Neue Staatslehre," ch. iii.; and Kirkup, "History of Socialism," p. 3.

the International Society of working men.* It was then no longer a dream of the study. It was no chance invention of an engineer, or romance of a novelist or poet. It was the symbol of the "Revolt of Labour." It was a rallying centre for every movement against tyranny and oppression. It was supposed to be the life and heart of the Paris Commune. After the "Old International" was dissolved in 1873, its spirit rose again in International Socialist Congresses. "The International is not dead," exclaimed Leibknecht in the Paris Congress of 1889, "it still goes marching on in the International Labour movements of many a land. In their might it is stronger than ever."

Throughout the succeeding chapters of this book a distinction is understood between the old Socialism and what is proclaimed as the new Social Democracy. The old Socialism is chiefly connected with the name of Marx. It was the "Communist Manifesto" of this organiser and thinker—powerfully reinforced by Lassalle's Arbeiter-programme (working men's programme)—which touched the hearts of the leaders of the Fourth Estate, and ultimately dominated the International Socialist movement. There is no denying the propagating influence of the germinal thoughts of Marx. The large literature that has gathered round his name is a tribute to the influence which he has exerted in European and even in Oriental countries. There were Socialists before Marx began to publish, just as there

* See Arnim, "Das Nationalitätsprincip in der socialistischen Internationale," *Socialistische Monatshefte*, July 14th, 1910; Marx in the "Communist Manifesto," used the word "Communism" for what ultimately became "Socialism." The word "Socialism" was not directly used in the title of the "Old International," but some of its earliest sections, such as that of Geneva, were formed by men who would have answered to the term "Socialist." See Guiallame, "L'Internationale," vol. i., p. 2. The word "Socialism" was also used in the "Poor Man's Guardian" for August 24th, 1883, and Mr. Graham Wallas calls this "the earliest recorded use of the term." See "Life of Francis Place," p. 353.

will be Socialists when "Das Kapital" has become one of the monuments of economic history. But just as William the Silent experienced a new birth after he became a Calvinist, and looked on his life with all its failures and successes as under the influence of overmastering "decrees," so most of the men who at the beginning of the twentieth century were at the forefront of the movement of Socialism owed their fuller vision to the influence of the great book of Marx. Bebel, the distinguished and veteran leader of the German Socialists, seemed to pass, as he studied it, from darkness to light; M. Georges Sorel, the most intellectual of the French Syndicalists, cries out to his compatriots to come "back to Marx"; and William Morris, the most distinguished man who ever preached Socialism from English street corners, bravely faced the somewhat arid dogmatism of its formulæ.

This great and commanding influence was not always for the best. Marx had somewhat of a wandering life. Expelled from his native country, he sought refuge in Belgium and France, and ultimately took his wife and children for an occasional day's outing in Hampstead Heath, like any other respectable bourgeois parent of that division of North St. Pancras. He felt that every writer's hand was against him, and like a true Ishmaelite he settled down to the conviction that his hand must be raised against all the respectabilities of his own age and time. His footnotes are often querulous. His references to economic speculators are often contemptuous.* He looked at history almost entirely from its material side. When this attitude passed from the master to his disciples it became stiffer than ever. The

* The publication from 1905 to 1910 under the name of "Theorien über den Mehrwert" of what was intended to be the historical part of "Das Kapital," has shown how carefully, notwithstanding his contempt, Marx studied bourgeois economists. The second and third volumes are devoted to an elaborate analysis and development of Ricardo.

occasional habit became a settled conviction. The idiosyncrasy became a disease. Socialism was looked upon as a little island apart in the great ocean of knowledge.* Socialists regarded themselves as an elect race which could have no dealings with the Philistines. Few of the disciples of the master remembered that "there were still some thousand men in Israel who have not bowed the knee to Baal." Their tone and their attitude were only too often that of *Athanasius contra mundum*.

There was no denying, however, the reality of their heroism, and the intensity of their devotion. A new "Acts of the Apostles" can be composed from the history of the Socialist movement. Read such a book as Leo Deutch's "Sixteen Years in Siberia," and you will get glimpses of a Russian woman's self-sacrificing love which will make you cry out with Tennyson—

"Happy he
With such a mother! Faith in womankind
Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
Comes easy to him, and though he trip and fall,
He shall not blind his soul with clay."

A great French Sociologist has said that you do not understand Socialism unless you look on it as a new religion. "Thanks to its promises of regeneration," says he, "thanks to the hope which it has shone into the hearts of all the disherited children of civilisation, Socialism has come to be a religious faith rather than a mere system of theories."† Other writers—both French

* Perhaps the most pathetic examples of this obsession may be found in the philosophical works of Dietzgen, a working man, who was an enthusiastic disciple of Marx. The late Professor Anton Menger in his books "Sittenlehre" and "Volkspolitik" did also much to encourage the belief in a special brand of "proletarian knowledge." As well speak of "proletarian mathematics" or "proletarian measles" or "proletarian microbes and bacteria"!

† "Psychologie du Socialisme," par Gustav Le Bon, p. x.

and German—have compared the history of Socialism during the last twenty years to the early history and progress of primitive Christianity. Like the “good news of the Kingdom,” it leapt the boundaries of nations. Men and women alike catch the fever of its contagion. Just as the early Christians consoled themselves in persecution and sorrow with the thought of that great day which would come “in the twinkling of an eye,” so the French Syndicalist asks the oppressed member of the “masses” to solace his soul with visions of the coming “General Strike.” He does not know modern Socialism who satisfies his spirit with the study of theories born in the cloister. To know what the “old Socialism” really is you must know it in the saving faith and living practice of tens of thousands of Socialist societies.*

Despite this whole-hearted consecration which has marked the propagation of Socialism in the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, the time has surely come to pass from “the old Socialism” to “the new Social Democracy.” Sociology is destined to be the distinguishing science of the twentieth century. In France, Italy, and Germany, and the United States of America a whole library of works have been written on the problems and puzzles of the new study. Some have connected it with biology like Worms, or Schäffle; others have been more attracted by its pathology like Lilienfeld and Vandervelde; a large number of influential writers like Tarde, Giddings, and Ward have looked at it from the psychological point of view; only a few like De Greef and Ludwig Stein have yet seen it as an encyclopædia of all the social sciences. But, short as its course has been, its careful students in many a land

* Some notion of this apostleship of unknown men and women in the early history of our own Independent Labour movement may be gained from “Tom Maguire” (Manchester, 1895), or “Life and Letters of Caroline Martyn” (*Labour Leader Publishing Department*, 1898).

have already detected "rhythms" in the march of society, and no Social Democracy can command the future which is not placed in relation with its ordered system of knowledge.

What, then, is the duty of an expositor of the new Social Democracy? He cannot possibly begin with such a simple definition of his subject as that it is "the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange." A nation itself is too often a manufactured entity. Its boundaries are settled by "treaties" which are made and unmade. Its provinces are often wrested at the cost of an appalling waste of human life. Instead of being content to be limited by the sea or river or mountains of a nation's frontiers, the "means of production, distribution, and exchange" are frequently controlled by "trusts" and "combines," for whom the whole world is a client. Evidently, then, old definitions must be seriously scrutinised in the light of new investigations.*

The purpose of the succeeding chapters is to found the practice of the new Social Democracy on the precepts of recent sociology. It would bring advanced reformers of every school face to face with the recorded results and completest science of the time. In the next chapter the sudden question is asked, "Can society be transformed?" And in order to answer it, Burke has to be considered, and his eloquent defence of an absolute sociological conservatism got out of the way once for all.

The result is to reveal that there is a certain order of relation in the attributes of society. Following biological analogies they are first called "tissues." Some of the "tissue" of society is complex and general. Others are more abstract and special. The old Socialism devoted itself at first almost exclusively to "tissue," which was simple and general. In the third and fourth

* Cp. Herbert Spencer, "Essays," vol. i., p. 409.

chapters an attempt has been made to show the merits and defects of such a limited view. Afterwards the "old Socialism" encouraged its disciples to go into Parliament and devote themselves to "politics"—a much more specialised department of society's life. The question is put in the eighth chapter whether in doing so, the men of the old school had quite realised the differences between the new department and the old.

In the third chapter I have reprinted, with a certain amount of hesitation, a forecast of the "new Social Democracy," which I wrote so long back as 1901. I have done so, because every science must win its spurs by its power to predict. Even mathematical axioms, as Poincaré has shown, are no ready-made truths that descend to us from heaven with the assurance of absolute invariability. They are simply principles, which after tests have been found to bring a certainty of prediction into the simplest aspects of recorded experience. Sociology finds it more difficult to predict than any of the other sciences. Its conditions are specially intricate and various. But both in the second and seventh chapters I have been able to get illuminating glimpses of the possibilities of our own economical experience by a consideration of the state of affairs in Germany and France respectively. In the eighth chapter, on the contrary, there appeared to be no such light to be gained from neighbouring nations.*

The total effect of the expositions of this book is to suggest that hitherto Social Democracy has been unduly

* Reference may here be made to the two volumes of "Le Socialisme Intégral," by Benoit Malon, the old Communiard. Malon's idea was to make Socialism more comprehensive. "It is not confined," he says (vol. i., p. 28), "to the industrial proletariat; it includes all who hope, all who fight, and all who suffer." It was said of his book that it takes up every subject from philosophy to housekeeping, and quotes every author from Homer to M. Chirac. See "Le Mouvement Socialiste en Europe," par T. de Wyzewa (1892), p. 23.

simplified. Economically, it has been supposed to lead us with fatal regularity to a Collectivist or stationary state, where our destinies must be left in the hands of officials. Religion has been often despised or ignored. Law has been consigned to the tender mercies of those who could wrest it to the destruction of the new projects and plans.* Politics has remained a battle in the wilderness. Philosophy has too often been a blind recapitulation of the systems of the past.

The new Social Democracy must make a new step forward into the mists of the future. It is indissolubly bound up with the uplifting of the Fourth Estate. No society for it will be satisfactory which denies to those who toil and spin their share of the privileges and advantages of life. In this connection it is shown in the sixth chapter what a large amount of credit must be given to Proudhon. There is sometimes a tendency to look on Karl Marx as having summed up in himself all the best and valuable in Socialist wisdom. It is time that some justice was done to a thinker whose works were the inspiration of all the early conferences of the "Old International."

There is a spirit of sobriety in the "new Social Democracy." It can promise no sudden and unexpected approach to the "Parliament of Man." It dreams no golden dreams of a sensual paradise. The old Socialism had an unspeakable fascination for young minds and hearts. It appealed to every generous spirit in revolt against ancient shibboleths. Its spirit of destruction was full of the uncompromising ardour of life's earliest days. Who—even though he may disapprove of the tone—can resist the fascination of the spirit of the lines in which Ferdinand Freiligrath took final leave of his

* On the Continent the legal profession has been more permeated by the spirit of Socialism than in England. For example, Otto Lang, a judge in the Supreme Court of Switzerland, is a Socialist, and in 1904 drew up the programme of his party.

rebellious newspaper, *The New Rhenish Gazette*, in the troubled days of 1849?

“Farewell ! but not for ever farewell !
They cannot kill the spirit, my brother ;
In thunder I'll rise on the fields where I fell,
More boldly to fight out another.
On Rhine or on Danube, in war and in deed,
You shall witness, true to his vow,
On the wreck of thrones, in the midst of the field,
The rebel who greets you now.”

The new Social Democracy lives in another temper and time; but it is to be hoped the succeeding chapters will show that though it has widened its scope and moderated its opposition to the heretics beyond the pale, it has lost none of the invincible hope and the generous ardour of those who found the faith which animated a generation before it.

II

CAN SOCIETY BE TRANSFORMED?

THE DIFFICULTY OF CHANGING SOCIETY—BURKE AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONSERVATIVE—HIS EARLY LIFE—THE “VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY”—HIS ARRIVAL IN LONDON—HIS ENTRY INTO PARLIAMENT—HIS METHOD IN CONTROVERSY.

BURKE’S FIRST ATTITUDE TO SOCIOLOGICAL CHANGE IN HIS “SPEECH ON AMERICAN CONCILIATION”—STATE ORGANISATION CANNOT REST ON FORCE—AMERICA HAS RECREATED A COMMONWEALTH.

BURKE’S FINAL ATTITUDE TO SOCIOLOGICAL CHANGE IN HIS WRITINGS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—SOCIETY BASED ON AN ORIGINAL CONTRACT—ONLY “THE FIRST AND SUPREME NECESSITY” JUSTIFIES AN INTERFERENCE WITH THAT CONTRACT—LAPSES FROM THIS CONSERVATIVE VIEW ON HIS RECOGNITION OF THE ORGANIC NATURE OF SOCIETY—HOW MODERN SOCIOLOGY HAS CORRECTED BURKE’S VIEW—THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF REVOLUTION—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION A MOVEMENT ON THE SURFACE OF SOCIETY—ADVENT OF A MORE FORMIDABLE TRANSFORMING MOVEMENT: THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Social Democracy is the art of which Sociology is the science. But no Social Democrat can work in an absolute vacuum. From the very beginning of his operations he finds his path obstructed by the heavy dead weights of human ignorance and prejudice. He cannot,

like the chemist, shut himself up in a laboratory. Unlike the vivisectionist, he can use no soothing anæsthetic. If he conceives a brilliant scheme of a new and renovated state for the future on the assumption that men and women will suddenly be transformed in nature and opportunities, he is like a skater venturing into ever thinner ice. Our lives are rooted and grounded in the past. The ghosts of ancient sins haunt us at our firesides. It is easy to evoke all kinds of menacing spirits from the "vasty deep" of sociological ingenuity, but never has the case against a radical reformation of society been put so alluringly as it has in the writings of Edmund Burke.

Burke is a prophet of the old dispensation. He finds the fabric of the State curiously made and moulded, and he dares the unlicensed innovator to lay on it his unholy hands. The British Constitution is an unrivalled compound of King, Lords, and Commons. If you handle roughly one organ of the body politic, you make an attempt on the life of all. The French Syndicalist who will usher in a new earth by a sudden cataclysm, the Fabian Collectivist who must multiply State servants to motive his millennium, will equally find in him a stern and uncompromising foe. Burke was content to reckon his time by geological epochs. He hated the sudden and the unexpected. His "economic reform" only meant a goodbye to some superfluous State officials. Every scientific student of the new Social Democracy has to settle his account with this impassioned advocate of sociological conservatism. Francis Place, the Charing Cross tailor, could speak contemptuously of one of this great rhetorician's "mad rants," in the House of Commons,* but these "mad rants" were conceived in language so finely exuberant that they have ever since been reckoned as classic.

* "Life of Francis Place," by Graham Wallas, p. 20.

Burke lived in an artificial age. Its great writers talked confidently of the "constitution and course of nature," but not many of them had ever seen nature as she really is. You read about Corydon and Phillis, Damon and Delia, until you get tired of these landscapes for the studio, and long for a talk with a real "yokel," smoking his mid-day pipe. Swift—whose bitter humour never led him far from the fountain of tears—turned with loathing from its painted shepherdesses, and looked for reform to the brute beasts, rather than to the men and women whom he knew. The so-called Socialists of the generation saw their new Commonwealth not in a regeneration of the actual, but in a specially-ordered world which had no links of connection between its primitive simplicity and the coffee-house world of the day.* Robinson Crusoe marvelled to see the imprints of a human foot. It is with a sensation of the utmost surprise that in the immortal pages of Boswell we light on this entry: "We talked of the state of the poor in London." "Saunders Welch, the justice," Dr. Johnson goes on to say, "who was once High Constable of Holborn, and had the best opportunities of knowing, told me that I under-rated the number, when I computed that twenty a week, that is, about a thousand a year, died of hunger. . . . You meet a man begging; you charge him with idleness. He says, 'I am willing to labour; will you give me work?' 'I cannot.' 'Why, then, you have no right to charge me with idleness.'" Really, it almost seems as if the Doctor had seen an advance copy of the Labour Party's "Right to Work" Bill! But this is the outpouring of a moment of inspiration. Dr. Johnson soon passed from the subject to one more obviously congenial—an estimate of the total literary debt of Pope to Bolingbroke.

Burke never wholly emancipated himself from the

* See Lichtenberger, "Le Socialisme au XVIII^e Siècle," p. 8.

upholstered world of books and politics, in which his lot was cast. Once in his "Vindication of Natural Society," he caught a glimpse of the "original children of the earth," who, as he informs us, "lived with their brethren of the other kinds in much equality." But how jejune, perfunctory, and stilted is his description of these happy hunting grounds in comparison with that given by Rousseau in his "Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens le l'inegalité parmi les hommes." Burke had no enthusiasm for the Golden Age. If he had written his "Confessions" he would neither have rated providence nor his friends. He liked his book, his club, his talk, his mansion house, and all the cosy joys of his civilised life. He had no ambition to be a painted savage, or to wander about with ancient dragons in their slime. It was for no purposes of propaganda that he described the "original children of the earth." Indeed, it is not easy to discover why he noticed them at all. His purpose in the "Vindication of Natural Society" is much like that of Mr. A. J. Balfour in his "Defence of Philosophic Doubt." He wants to warn off Rationalists, sceptics, and infidels by showing in what a heap of ruins their operations will involve us. He can tell us how Zeus may be dethroned, and Vortex crowned in his place, and the suspicion constantly emerges that both he and his modern successors have only taught us the lesson too well. In the classic language of Lord Milner, the opponent may pocket Burke's homilies and shout out gaily "D——n the consequences"!

Burke came from Ireland—that land of artistic politics. His father was a public attorney, and lived long enough to look with apprehension at the meteoric career of his boy. His mother was a Roman Catholic, and was therefore responsible for some of these legends which, in later years, gathered round the life of Burke—the stories that he was a wolf in sheep's clothing, or a Jesuit masquerading in the robes or rags of a Protestant. Fifteen children were born of his father's

marriage, but only three boys and one girl survived to maturity. The exact year of Edmund's birth is to some extent doubtful. For my own part I have found it most convenient to take 1730. In his early years he was sent to Ballitore, to a Quaker school kept by the Shackletons, and this event proved very influential in forming his life. "Under their eye," he said in a speech of his later years, "I have read the Bible morning, noon, and night, and I have ever since been the happier and better man for such reading." This testimony may be compared with the similar testimony of Ruskin in the "*Praeterita*," and both writers no doubt owed to their Bible studies some of the Oriental exuberances of their style. Altogether, the circumstances of Burke's early years seemed to promise a life redeemed to a large extent from conventional opinions. The birth in Ireland, then a very despised portion of the British realms, and his early association with Roman Catholics and Quakers taught him toleration and sympathy with the oppressed; while the further fact that he had a tendency to consumption will be interesting to those who study the pathology of genius.

In due time he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin, and then ate his dinners at the Temple. There is not much to be said of Burke as a scholar. Throughout all his life he had a gift of impressing people, and he was apt to be taken for greater and more gifted than he really was. There was nothing brilliant about his scholastic career—though his attainments were always respectable. In later years wonderful stories of his universal knowledge circulated among his friends. "In history, politics, polite letters, and philosophy," says his biographer, Prior, "there seemed little with which he was not familiar." But when we try to get at the verifiable facts which underlie all these assertions, we find our ground extremely uncertain. As a specimen of his critical powers we have his statement that the finest poem in the English language is Milton's "*Il*

Penseroso," and as a specimen of his knowledge of polite literature, we have his own couplet:—

"Jove claimed the verse old Homer sung,
But God Himself inspired Young."

This, it must be confessed, is not reassuring. Still, Burke learnt a great deal from the life at Trinity College, and when he crossed over the Irish Channel and took his place in the Bohemian society of the metropolis, he must have had a very considerable intellectual equipment. There, for the first time, he had the leisure to study the genus Englishman on his own native heath. "An Englishman," said he, after many observations, "is cold and distant at first; he is very cautious even in forming an acquaintance; he must know you well before he enters into friendship with you; but if he does, he is not the first to dissolve that sacred bond. In short, a real Englishman is one that performs more than he promises. In company he is rather silent, extremely prudent in his expressions—even on politics, his favourite topic."

A few years after he invaded London, Burke began to lay the foundations of his subsequent life. In 1756 he started his career as an author, publishing within a few months of each other "A Vindication of Natural Society" and "A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful." He was a great Rambler, now and again wandering over England, and taking occasional journeys to Ireland. In the course of these tours he went to Bath for the sake of his health, and like many other men equally and less sensible, he fell in love. His future wife was Miss Mary Jane Nugent, daughter of Dr. Christopher Nugent, and when in 1759 he started housekeeping in Wimpole Street, he had to depend on his father-in-law for the principal expenses of the operation. Gossips have whispered that at this stage of his life he sowed his wild oats, but the whispers seem only to be the

accompaniment of old wives' tales. He was intimate with Dr. Johnson, and the great novelist even condescended to know him by a nick-name. In 1758 he started, along with Dodsley, the *Annual Register*.

The next year he began to make as well as to write history. He was introduced to Single-speech Hamilton, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and went over to his native land with him as his private secretary. One year, however, was enough to end their intimacy. The private secretary quarrelled with his chief, and the two were at daggers drawn for the rest of their natural lives. Burke had a strange fatality for falling out with his friends. No doubt he could generally show very good reasons, but, however explained, the fact points to a limitation in his powers. He had a splendid faculty for impressing men, and making them believe in him—that is clear. But the power did not consist in winning them like Fox, or setting them to work like Pitt; it simply meant that there was impressed upon them a conviction of his tremendous ability—an impression which possibly, and even generally might produce envy and jealousy, rather than the desire of service. With all his powers of oratory, he never, like Chatham, commanded the House of Commons. We can hardly conceive even a country gentleman saying of the great commoner as he said of Burke, when one day he arose in the House with his papers in his hand: "I hope the honourable gentleman does not mean to read that large bundle of papers and bore us with a long speech into the bargain."* In truth, Burke was never perfectly at home in the practical life. Like Arnold's Shelley, he too often beat ineffectual wings in the empty void; and when

* Since this sentence was written an article has appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* (April, 1910) giving a translation of notes on "England in 1782," written by a German who visited England in that year. There he represents Burke protesting to the House against the way in which it treated him. "This is not treatment for so old an M.P. as I am."

Cabinets were made and the plums ready to be eaten, he was consoled with good pay, the power of extinguishing his own office, and the outer darkness of a subordinate position—only less dark than if he had been transferred to the House of Lords.

The quondam private secretary of Single-speech Hamilton was not long left in the Cimmerian dimness of want of employment. In 1765, when he was 35 years old, he became private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham and, unlike his first attachment, this turned out to be of a much more permanent and serious character. But one must needs admit that there does seem something incongruous in the spectacle of this great man, Burke, acting as a kind of jackal, or lion's provider, to that little man, the Marquis of Rockingham. The peer, indeed, was not without his distinguishing qualities. He was plausible and conciliatory in his manners, and possessed in some degree the art which Burke notoriously lacked—the art of managing men. Still, with all allowances made, Burke was certainly worthy of a better fate than always to be overshadowed by the protecting wings of the Marquis. "I was not," said he in after days, "swaddled, rocked, and dandled into a legislator. *Victor in adversum* is a motto for a man like me." Really, when we think of the circumstances under which Burke took his seat and acted as member for the pocket borough of Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, we can well believe it.

The young Parliamentarian was not long in being furnished with a subject worthy to elicit all his highest powers. The year in which he entered Parliament was the year of the Stamp Act—that ill-fated measure, which in a few years raised the old question of the relations between the mother country and America. It is unnecessary in the course of this special study to retail again the series of ministerial changes and court intrigues by which policies were changed and Cabinets fell in bewildering succession. Rockingham went and

Chatham came; Chatham went and Grafton came; and at the background of it all, as very interested spectators, the King and Lord North watched every move on the political chessboard. Of course, there was more to be said for the extreme policy which lost us our American colonies than is usually imagined.* America was then simply looked on as a part of the King's dominions, unrepresented, indeed, in the King's Parliament, but no worse off in this respect than many towns of rapidly rising commercial importance in the mother country. The King's ministers could tax the King's domains, and as for the so-called parliaments in the several American States, they were nothing more nor less than glorified vestries—as unworthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the House of Commons as the Poplar Board of Guardians would be in the opinion of the Local Government Board. Unfortunately, however, for this conception, it was rapidly growing out of date. There was a time when the Colonies were parts of the Empire, and their legislative assemblies glorified vestries; but now they are beginning to feel their importance, and new conceptions were supplanting the old. The party of Chatham saw that "the old order was changing," but they were unable to make their way to a policy which should completely express it. They accepted the maxim that "taxation should go with representation," and they refused to admit that the King's Parliament could competently tax the unrepresented Colonies. But then, in the past they had passed Navigation Laws, by which the whole Colonial trade was perforce to be carried in British bottoms. Taxation as taxation was illegitimate, but taxation in the way of commercial regulation was quite allowable. The justification was only vaguely expressed, and does not bear very exhaustive analysis; but vague or explicit, it has played no small part in the history of the question.

* For a suggestive study of this aspect of the case see "*Imperium et Libertas*," by Bernard Holland.

Between these two parties—the party of the past and the party of the future—Burke tried to steer a middle course. It was his fashion in almost all the great controversies in which he was engaged to take his stand on the *status quo*. On the question of giving the franchise to the Irish, he began with the Revolution Settlement. In remonstrating with the “new Whigs,” he started with the assumption of an “original contract”; and, in hurling anathemas at the “Regicide Peace,” he kept continually in mind the accepted Balance of the Powers. In the American controversy he did not dream of altering his usual methods. He considered the Navigation Laws were justified, and added that, as a mere question of abstract right, the home Parliament could venture to tax America. But then he also conceded that, as a matter of expediency, this right should not be exercised except with the consent of the Colonial Assemblies. If, in some extreme case, a Colonial Assembly refused such consent when common justice obviously required it, then the central body might step in to prevent a resulting injustice; but except in such an extreme case it was most impolitic to resort to any kind of forcible taxation.

If that, however, were all that Burke had established or maintained on the question, his speeches would not still continue to be read with interest and delight. Burke is not simply a sprightly commentator on the events of his own day. Even when he is manifestly taking his stand on the past, he hears—sometimes confusedly and afar off, but yet certainly and truly—the murmur of the future. And in none of his works is this more manifest than in that which, with all reservations, I regard as the greatest of them all, the speech on American Conciliation. The “Letters on a Regicide Peace” may be more splendid in their flashes and their flames, and they may touch more variously the whole gamut of human emotion. You may pick out individual passages from the “Reflections on the Revolution,” with which

nothing in the speech on Conciliation can adequately be compared. But for comprehensiveness, altitude, and that strange instinct, which, at every tune and turning, anticipates the "music of the future," I knew nothing in Burke which rises superior to the speech on American Conciliation. There he speaks straight to the heart. He appeals to the elemental feelings of human nature. "Refined policy," he says, "ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle." In this high access of mind, politics is no affair of tinkered constitutions; a government can never be forced at the point of the bayonet. A politician only succeeds if he welds a people together in an ordered commonwealth, and he can only do this if his organisation is based on free consent.* The Colonies must first be reconciled. Force can only fail in its main object. If you do succeed in crushing opposition, it is a slave and not your former foe whom you rule—a man indeed in outward face and form, but with all the manhood and dignity in him crushed out and trampled in the mire. Vague visions passed through the prophetic soul of Burke of a new relation between the mother country and her colonies—a relation in which they should each preserve the fullest individual freedom, and yet be willing members of a great Federation. "The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive Empire in two capacities; one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power. The other, and I think

* Students of sociology will remember that this is the distinction which the Belgian sociologist, G. de Greef, draws between the biological organism and the sociological super-organism.

her nobler capacity, is what I call her Imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." This view carries him far beyond the transient politics of the hour. It comes from the deepest and most prescient elements in his soul. But glimpses of a similar prescience are seen in many other passages of the same speech. The arguments based on the rapid future growth of the American population show us that from afar off Burke had seen that mighty host which sweeps irresistibly through the pages of De Tocqueville and Bryce. The oligarch has become the democrat. The man who opposed all widening of the franchise has heard the trumpet of the "Fourth Estate"! It was absurd to suppose that the super-organism of the Commonwealth should not develop new functions in such an absolutely changed environment. As a matter of fact, the standpoint of the speech on Conciliation is different from that of the speeches on the French Revolution. At a later time he held you could make no sudden changes in the framework of your constitutional life without disaster. Progress in State affairs could only be a return from a corrupt present to an uncorrupted past. His advance, like that of the crab, was an advance backwards. But in this great speech he recognised that the Americans were creating almost *ex nihilo* "a new world to redress the balance of the old." "They have formed a Government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution, or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well have they done it that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you, that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient Government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called;

not the name of governor as formerly, or committee as at present."

These are large admissions, and they take away from Burke a great part of the significance which attaches to him as the most brilliant opponent of a social revolution. He could not deny that times might change, and that the whole body politic might change along with them. Only he held that such a change could not be wrought from above. It could not be grafted by bureaucrats or fanatics on an alien life; it must be bone of the nation's bone, flesh of the nation's flesh. If the Fourth Estate are to be admitted to their rightful share of the government, it is because we are going to substitute something better than "mob rule" or "the rule of officials."*

It is not to be supposed, however, that Burke kept continually at this height of impassioned prescience. It would not have been necessary to give his objections such detailed consideration in a book on the "New Social Democracy" if he had. In the politics of his own time he played no lucrative part because he could never adapt high principles to the shifting humours of the hour. As I have already indicated, his over-soul could never have been drawn to the politics of the day. It is difficult to summon up any enthusiasm for the Bedfords, the Graftons, and others of a similar persuasion who are dissected so mercilessly in the pages of "Junius." There was, as Burke soon saw, a government within the Government, a knot of king's friends and hangers-on of all descriptions who acted as a kind of brake to the wheels of progress. Burke could not tolerate this royal oligarchy or aristocratic bureaucracy. Perhaps that was the reason why he never became a Cabinet Minister. But he was the friend of many causes—lost then, but won in after-days.

* It is hardly necessary in this connection to remind the reader of the suggestive works of Gustav Le Bon.

He advocated the admission of the Irish Catholics to a Parliamentary franchise, the binding of clergymen by articles so long as the Church was established, a limited service in the army, the alleviation of the slave trade, and, above all, the just and considerate treatment of India. There is no doubt that he was thoroughly in earnest in his prosecution of Warren Hastings, and his deep feeling for the obscure and inarticulate millions of India makes itself manifest amid the Oriental imagery of many a brilliant speech. On other questions his views would not find acceptance with new Social Democrats! He opposed the widening of the franchise, he refused to be the delegate of his constituents, and he was not in favour of shorter Parliaments.

Burke's was thus a strangely mingled life. Sometimes he was in advance, sometimes behind, his time; but there is sufficient of the prophet in his best work to make him his own best refutation when he is quoted in the interests of reaction. This chapter, however, would be very incomplete if it neglected to give detailed consideration to his views on the French Revolution. Hatred of the cataclysm in France and prophecies of future evil as a result of it were the prevailing occupation of his later years, and despite all that Lord Morley and his other admirers have said on the subject, I cannot but think that he has strayed grievously from the point of view so gloriously set forth in the "Speech on Conciliation." Here was the argument of his later works. Society is based on an original contract. In England it is the balanced constitution—king, parliament, and the people; in France it was a monarchical government, the virtues of which Burke absurdly parades and to the vices of which he is surprisingly blind.* It is not permissible for a majority of the

* Taine has given us a picture, overwhelming in its sombreness and gloom, of the injustice of this old régime. "The first king in Europe," says St. Simon, "is great simply by being a king of

people to break this original contract. Only "the first and supreme necessity, a necessity that is not chosen, but chooses, a necessity paramount to deliberation, that admits no discussion and demands no evidence," can justify any considerable interference with the *status quo*. Such a necessity Burke saw in the English Revolution of 1688; such a necessity he did not see in the French Revolution. Whether a revolution is justifiable or not seems to depend, in this view of it, on the colour of your spectacles. But Burke tried to justify his preference for the English methods. The object of 1688 was not to break but to restore the original contract. It was not to resolve society into a congeries of atoms, but to prevent this untoward result. The Revolution accomplished, things reverted to their former condition. The contract was again placed beyond the reach of individual caprice. Our life is bound up with the life of our society; and what God has joined, it is sacrilege for the French Revolution to attempt to sever.

Now we have got the underlying principles of Burke's later thought. In his skilful hands they were moulded into a theory of absolute sociological conservatism. The original contract must be kept at all costs. Why should we interfere with that which has been confirmed by inviolate oaths? But this original contract, what is it? Has it sprung ready-made from the womb of history, as Athene from the forehead of Zeus, or has it, like everything else, been itself a development? In his "Appeal from the old to the new Whigs," Burke is a "whole-hogger," and presupposes a ready-made article. In the "Reflexions," however, another mood has supervened, and he has been virtually forced to admit an organic growth. In one of the most brilliant passages of the latter work, he expatiates on this organic idea of society as a contract or partnership. "It is a partnership

beggars of all conditions. The people in Normandy live on the grass of the fields."

in all sciences, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." These glowing words take away from Burke's idea of the contract all its cast-iron rigidity and completeness. The contract is not something ingeniously made in the past to be hereafter preserved in a glass case for all succeeding generations to admire and reverence. It is a process which is not yet complete. It is an evolution which needs the addition of future generations—especially of the Fourth Estate—before its ends are attained or its plan sufficiently discovered. You cannot, on the ground of any administration of its nature made in 1688 or in any succeeding or preceding age, cry "Hands off!" to all the new democrats of the future. Past ages may only have had a partial view of it. It may remain for the future to give a glimpse of its real scope and glories.

It has been reserved for modern sociology to supply what Burke most lacked—a more detailed idea of how society is compounded and how far its texture may be changed without the risk of utter anarchy as the result. A society is more than an aggregation of individuals—that at least should be clear in the light of the most recent knowledge. A society is also more than an organism, as the term "organism" is used in biology. It can be altered much more fundamentally than the human body can without thereby running the risk of dissolution. It is more complex, more intricately intertwined and articulated, and the life of the whole is more self-consciously present in the life of every part. The members of the human body, as Minucius Felix long ago told the Plebs at Rome, cannot rebel without dooming the whole body to speedy and irreparable loss. The rebels in human society have sometimes been the harbingers of a new dawn. To some extent biological

analogies are useful to map out the ground, just as Professor Marshall may grasp more completely the quantitative relations of an economical problem by expressing it in mathematical symbols. For example, it may be properly enough pointed out that society is composed of various orders of organic tissue—domestic tissues, economic tissues, legal tissues, political tissues, and rational tissues. All these play their part and make up the intensely intricate whole of this marvellous super-organism or organisation which is the subject of sociology.* Domestic and economic tissues are the most simple and rudimentary. You can most easily reduce a society to utter anarchy by making a lesion here. Burke really stumbled on a good example of this in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. "The Carnatic," he tells us, "is refreshed by few or no living brooks or running streams, and it has rain only at a season; but its product of rice exacts the use of water subject to perpetual command. This is the national bank of the Carnatic on which it must have a perpetual credit or it perishes irretrievably. For that reason, in the happier times of India a number almost incredible of these reservoirs have been made in chosen places throughout the whole country; they are formed for the greater part of mounds of earth and stones, with sluices of solid masonry, the whole constructed with admirable skill and labour and maintained at a mighty charge." In a country like the Carnatic, then, we have only to tamper with its circulatory system, *i.e.*, its reservoirs, to produce a state of real anarchy and to remove the very foundations on which the society rests. Family life also fundamentally affects the basis of society as may be

* On this whole question the reader may consult the works of De Greef, of which the "*Précis de Sociologie*" is the latest; Durkheim, "*De la Division du Travail Social*"; Lilienfeld, "*La Pathologie Sociale*"; Worms, "*Organisme et Société*"; Barth, "*Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie*"; and the different volumes of "*Annales de l'institut International de Sociologie*."

discerned from any manual of primitive belief and custom. But when we pass from domestic and economic to legal, political and rational tissues, we come to systems of connection which are increasingly complex and special, where changes may be affected and apparent revolutions consummated without thereby resolving the society into a chaos of unconnected atoms. Professor Anton Menger in Austria* and M. Jaurés in France have produced sketches of Socialist Codes of Law, but neither of them supposes that to get them adopted in any given state of society would mean the dissolution of the society which made the bold experiment. Systems of government change and pass. Poland becomes enslaved, and Italy emancipates herself from the yoke of Austria; but Poland and Italy with very much the same economic and domestic arrangements still survive to our own day. Reason is the most complex and special of all the connecting tissues of society. It is still very much a luxury of human nature, and philosophical systems succeed one another with bewildering rapidity without thereby making us feel that the deluge is upon us. It is a commonplace of history that the French Revolution did not penetrate deep down to the furthestmost roots of the State, and the Revolutionary Tribunals handed on their despotic power to Napoleon, whilst the French peasant ate, drank, and was given in marriage just as in the days of yore. Burke had overestimated the relative importance of events then passing in France. He forgot that when the ocean is lashed into great waves by the fury of the storm above the mermaids may be combing their hair in the tranquil depths below.

Not only did Burke overestimate the significance of events in France, but he underestimated the social organism's capacity for change. Every Act of Parliament,

* Menger's views can be best gathered from his works, "*Neue Rechtslehre*," "*Neue Sittenlehre*," and "*Volkspolitik*." See also "*Lois Collectivistes pour l'an 19—*," par Georges Dazet.

every society of men banded together for some particular reform, is a testimony to our belief that the commonwealth is not fixed once for all in inviolable rigidity. An Act of Parliament or a new philosophical system does not, of course, transform society from top to bottom all at once. Kant, as Heine finally shows, might start at the same moment along the same road for his daily walk at Königsberg, and the inhabitants of the quiet place regard him all his life as a "crank" rather than a destroyer destined to change the face of Europe. Economic modes and methods, the prejudices of family life, resist for a long time the new ideas. Who will say that even now economic usage in England is at the same level as its moral judgments or its religious ideals? But slow though the process of changing a community must be—and the new Social Democracy, if it is to be really influential, must fully acknowledge this—the process nevertheless is certain and sure. "Old ideas die away," says Mazzini, "or weigh upon the heart like midnight dreams; young ones spring up to view, bright coloured and fresh with hope, but vague and incomplete like the dreams of the morning." The new ideas are vague and incomplete, and just because of that they stand at first helpless and dismayed before the pitiless rigidity of economic and domestic prejudices. The new ideas are like the dreams of the morning, and just because of that they are the first to be forgotten when the nation is thrown off its balance by a gust of sudden and violent passion. No elements of our social structure can be more easily disarranged than those political beliefs and higher habits of thought which have come to us as the result of an advanced degree of civilisation. A war, for example, brings the institutions of a people back to the more barbarous or military stage of the world's progress. Nothing is more disheartening than to see how a nation smitten with the martial fever denies the right of free speech and forswears the chivalry that would scorn to ill-treat women and children or

insult a fallen foe. Burke might choose to pour the vials of his wrath on paper constitutions and consider the French Revolution as a movement backward to the abyss. A more mature consideration might have taught him that the paper was only in the pockets of an outside garment, and that the main details of local administration in France remained exactly as before.

If only Burke had treated the problem of a social revolution with the same sympathy that he showed to America, he might have contributed more of importance to the subject. He might have forsworn the rough excesses of the revolutionary spirit, its blatant irreligion, its lack of all moderated experience, and the dreamland of naked abstractions in which its leaders lived and moved; he might have pointed out the path of future reforms; he might have been a "guide, philosopher, and friend" to these too bold innovators, who, without understanding what they plan, are anxious to lay hasty hands on the complex fabric of the State. Instead of this, he grew more and more vehemently unsympathetic as the years went on; at the same time, he became much more popular in his own country. He was looked on even by the king as the mainstay and support of the monarchic cause in Europe; but this was surely poor consolation for the orator who had won his spurs by the "Speech on Conciliation." The "Letters on a Regicide Peace" are the most splendidly rhetorical of all his works! How he can play at will on the passions of humanity! Argument, appeal, tenderness, pathos, vulgarity, the *tu quoque*, sarcasm, satire, flattery, all these succeed one another in rapid succession. But the prevailing habit is that of the termagant and the scold. There were four lines current at that time which fairly express its main spirit:—

" Je suis tombé dans la rivière,
C'est la faute à Voltaire;
Je suis tombé dans la ruisseau,
C'est la faute à Rousseau."

In his most retrograde moods, however, Burke never wholly loses that insight which is the touch of genius. The French Revolution had none of the immediate effects that Burke attributed to it, and yet Burke was right in regarding it as the beginning of a new levelling spirit which was to influence all nations—a new religion of Social Democracy which was to claim its meed of worship from the hearts and minds of men. Fox saw many things to which Burke in his day was blind, but Fox never caught Burke's glimpses of "the land that is very far off."

Burke died in 1797 with his eyes still fixed upon France. In the cold light of history it might seem as if he had totally failed to grasp the significance of his own time. Movements were gathering force and power which were yet to make the fortunes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Industrial Revolution was changing the face of England. Francis Place was teaching the Breeches Makers' Union how most effectively to organise the workers for defence and defiance. The London Corresponding Society and the Friends of the People were starting an agitation which was to culminate with the Reform Bill of 1832. John Wesley reached the very fountain springs of the fallen human nature he was wont to decry. These movements issued from the "red ripe" of the nation's heart, but Burke never laid his hand on the beating pulse of their young lives. He recognised that the times were changing. About 1764 he spoke of "that infinite variety of admirable manufacturers that grew and extend every year among the spirited, inventive, and enterprising traders of Manchester." But if he had known as much as we do he would have proclaimed that these small clouds, "no bigger than a man's hand," would yet

* Considerable light is thrown on the real significance of the work of Fox and Burke in "Charles James Fox," by J. L. Le B. Hammond.

darken the whole horizon. The Industrial Revolution would transform, and yet the deluge would be as far away as ever! The people would form trade unions in the face of federated employers, and they would attempt by Labour Parties to dominate those assemblies which were the seats of representative government. Religious appeals might be powerless in presence of economic obstructions, yet they generated the exhilarating ozone under the influence of which all obstructions are most effectively removed. Burke does not often carry us to the mountain tops sometimes reached in his "Speech on Conciliation," where we breathe the keen air which sends us down with hope and strength to face the troubles of the plain. He rather shows us the bogs and morasses, the Slough of Despond, the Hill of Difficulty, and the growling lions by the way. Time and again we cry in the lines of Chénier :—

"O joy for heaven's free air, as merrily up I fly,
Away from the snarers' nests to the blue fields of the sky,
Where Philomel soaring sings."

If we yield too much to these impassioned longings, however, we may do Burke less than justice. "They also serve who only stand and wait." The new Social Democracy of the future must be graven deep on human nature. It must see the people as they are and not as we hope that they may be. It must see them prone to delusions, carried away by catch calls, eagerly responsive at times to reactionary and superstitious appeals. If a Social Revolution has its threatening perils it is well to know them. Burke at least incites us to take careful bearings by the way.

III

A FORECAST IN 1901

NECESSITY FOR SOCIOLOGY TO FORECAST—GERMANY AS THE INSPIRATION OF RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN KARL MARX—EVIDENCE OF THE APPEARANCE OF MARXIANISM IN ENGLAND—THE ANTI-MARX MOVEMENT IN GERMANY—ANTICIPATIONS OF ITS INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND—FORECASTS OF THE FUTURE OF BRITISH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—SURVIVAL OF THE SMALL WORKSHOP—CLASSES AND MASSES—LAW AND LEGISLATION—THE HAND AND THE HEAD—RELIGION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—POLITICS AND PROGRAMMES.

The twentieth century has fairly entered on its course, and already many European sociologists have tried to forecast what the final task of the new century will be.* It is true that political and social meteorology have shown themselves in the past notoriously deceptive. The course of events is simply strewn with the wrecks of mistaken historical predictions. From the religious enthusiast who neglects to buy a fresh scuttle of coals because he believes that the world is coming to an end in a few days to the politician who predicts that a certain war is on the point of finishing, there is a wide range of

* This chapter is reprinted, with a very few immaterial alterations, from the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1901, and for the permission to do so the author is indebted to the kindness of Sir Percy Bunting.

human fallibility. Revolutions that were threatened have never come; dreadful consequences that were promised as the price of certain reforms have betaken themselves to the "illimitable inane," and now, after all this expenditure of nervous force, we are still alive to tell the tale.

Yet the temptation to predict is a very strong one, and it must be held that, within strictly defined limits, it can be yielded to without any great risk of unforeseen consequences. The human will is no doubt painfully eccentric, and some unaccountable genius has played havoc with the best-laid sociological schemes. But there are certain broad lines of development along which the course of history has lain, and if we are content to follow these we may find ourselves, with hardly any effort on our part, far beyond the stage of our own particular time. The study of statistics shows us that individual peculiarities neutralise each other, and that predictions which may be impossible in the case of the unit may be perfectly feasible in the case of the mass.

With these general words of encouragement in our mind, it is now permissible to address ourselves to the main problem of this chapter, and to ask whether it is possible in any certain or scientific way to lay down the future lines of development for Social Democracy in our own country. Is there any general tendency which we have seen running through the nineteenth century, and which may help us when feeling our way through the twentieth?

If we look in a general way at the religious, social, and philosophical movements of the latter part of the nineteenth century, we cannot fail to be struck by the extent to which they owe their first inspirations to German influences.* The early decades of the nineteenth

* One of the most brilliant books of modern sociology—the book on the "Laws of Imitation," by M. Tarde—deals with this phase of social life. It received attention also from Mr. Bagehot in an illuminating chapter of his "Physics and Politics."

century were, in Germany, periods of unparalleled brilliancy. The great names of Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Goethe, Heine, Schiller, Lessing, Marx, Lassalle, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel represent a combination of power which is well-nigh irresistible. It was impossible for the English development to remain unaffected by this mighty rush of feeling and thought in a foreign land. Maurice drew his inspiration through Coleridge from German wells; Carlyle went back again and again to the same sources when the flame of his genius burnt dimly; and the influence of German philosophy on the latest phases of English thought can hardly be overestimated.

Here, then, is a guiding clue which may give us no small measure of help. If it is possible to show that English Social Democracy is connected with German roots, then by following the development of the parent stem we may find ourselves able to say something about the future course of its branches.

Before 1880 it might have seemed that no connection existed between German thought and the main movements of English Social Democracy. Karl Marx was the all-important and dominating personality in the European countries; but in England, the place where he wrote his most important work, he was scarcely known at all. H. M. Hyndman, indeed, in a book "England for All," which was published in 1881, and was called "the Text-Book of Social Democracy," spoke of being inspired in two of his main chapters by "the work of a great thinker and original writer, which will, I trust, shortly be made accessible to the majority of my fellow-countrymen."* But it was not till 1890 that

* For Marx's own somewhat contemptuous comments on this very book, see a letter to F. A. Sorge, dated December 15th, 1881, and published in *Socialist Review*, Vol. I., p. 24. Some interesting material relative to the earliest influence of Marx on England will be found in Mr. McKail's "Life of William Morris," Vol. II., p. 83 *et seq.* It was in 1883 that Morris, the greatest genius

the ideas of Karl Marx began seriously to disturb Labour developments in this country. In 1889 arose the movement which was called, more or less properly, the "New Unionism." The leaders of this movement did not put the name of Karl Marx in the forefront; they did not, in so many words, claim kinship with the German thinker; but in their conviction that a great social upheaval was near, in the emphasis which they laid on the number of unemployed, and on the sempstress making shirts in a garret at 6½d. per dozen, we see the influence of the fundamental thoughts of the great German. "Year by year," said Keir Hardie, "the returns to Labour continue to dwindle, while the returns to Capital, whether in the form of land or stock, grow ever more and more marked." John Burns illustrated another side of the German movement—its hostility to organised religion—by quoting before the Scotch railwaymen on strike the words of his namesake, the poet—

A fig for those by law supported,
Liberty's a glorious feast,
Courts by cowards were appointed,
Churches built to please the priest.

All this is very significant. It shows that the ideas of Karl Marx were beginning to filter into the practical Social Democracy of this country. The Labour movement, like every other great movement of the century, was going back for its leading thoughts to Germany.

If, then, we see in Karl Marx the inspirer of a forward movement in English Social Democracy, it cannot be without interest for English Democrats to study the fortunes of this thinker in the land of his birth. Has his system of Socialism remained firm against the

who has hitherto joined the Socialist ranks in this country, first submitted to the influence of Marx, though it is a question whether More's "Utopia" was not more responsible for his Socialism than his perplexed reading of "Das Kapital."

assaults of time and fate, or has it sustained such important modifications that we are compelled to predict a similar tendency in the English movement as well?

The reply is that a reaction against many of the leading thoughts of Karl Marx has been a marked feature of German thought from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the present time. Not that any disrespect has been shown to the great Socialist. Even his bitterest opponents have acknowledged the power of his thinking, and the names of Hegel, Darwin, and Marx are among the very greatest of the nineteenth century. But every year during the last two decades has added to the number of books accumulating reasons against him. Economists like Menger and Bohm-Bawerk, sociologists of the rank of Paul Barth, historians of philosophy like Ludwig Stein of Berne, and disciples of the master himself, like E. Bernstein, have all joined in the chase. Perhaps the Social Democrat may retort that most of these are professors, and he cannot pay much attention to thoughts that are simply cradled in cloisters. But the thought of to-day is the practice of to-morrow. The reason against Marx may have begun in the class-room, but it will speedily reach the light of day. Bernstein, indeed, tells us in the preface to the French translation of his work, written at the end of 1899, that an important move was then made in this direction. A conference of the Social Democratic party was held in Hanover, and an attempt was made by those who swore by the "words, the whole words, and nothing but the words" of Karl Marx to secure a declaration that he was guilty of heresy. The Conference, however, while not always approving of the form, made some important concessions to the essence of Bernstein's ideas.* It affirmed (1) that in

* See Bernstein, "Socialisme Théoretique et Social Démocratie Pratique," traduction d'Alexandre Cohen, Preface, xxxii. It is perhaps not generally known that Bernstein was the Editor of the *Zurich Social Democrat*, the official organ of the German Social

electoral matters compromise was allowable; (2) that the co-operative movement was a useful one*; and (3) that a Social Democrat gave his assent to fundamental principles and not to practical details.

The fact is that, even among the German Social Democrats themselves, the cry is being raised "Back to Lassalle."† The latter Socialist, indeed, was not nearly such a patient and laborious thinker as Karl Marx. But he was a German of the Germans, and his practical though audacious intellect saw the necessity of reforming on the basis of the present state of society. This is exactly what the deliverance of the Conference at Hanover amounted to. Whilst sharing the German love of abstract principles and demanding assent to the cast-iron *theories* of Marxian orthodoxy, it acknowledged at the same time that so far as time and season and the practical working out of details were concerned, the agitator must take refuge in expediency. Two years afterwards an important advance was made on the Conference at Hanover. In the autumn of 1901 the Social Democratic party met at Lübeck, and it has since been admitted that even the *theories* of Marx are not beyond attack. The Social Democrat cannot, in fact, afford to despise the national politician in the same lofty way in which he may have been accustomed to do so in the past. He cannot assume that the lines of a policy laid

Democracy during the repressive laws of Prince Bismarck. For years he had been closely associated with F. Engels, the co-worker of Marx, and one of the fathers of Marxianism. Here, then, was a case of a doctrine being hurt in the house of its friends.

* The question of Co-operation occupies a chief place in the business for the International Socialist Conference of 1910 in Copenhagen. It has taken all the intervening time from 1899 to induce the old Socialism to assign to Co-operation its true credit in the organisation and education of the proletariat.

† It may be remembered that Lassalle's chief work is a "Systematic Theory of Acquired Rights," and that thus he has a claim to be the founder of the now influential school of Juristic Socialists.

down in a London lodging-house will apply with equal success to the workmen of every age and of every land. No one can over-estimate the service which Karl Marx rendered to the Democratic cause in the way of widening its vision and broadening its outlook. He made the Socialist movement international, and throughout his many circulars we hear continually the echo of his favourite refrain, "Proletarians of all countries! Unite!" But he accomplished this internationalisation of Social Democracy at a very terrible cost. He rode rough-shod over every consideration of local patriotism. He would not, or could not, see that a nation is a nation, and that, so far as the present state of Europe is concerned, the national spirit of a people can maintain such a loyal standing army that revolutionary Socialism is quite impossible. He forgot that if you work along the lines of least resistance you can always accomplish more than if you seek to scandalise those "fixed ideas" which environment and fatherland have made a part even of the proletariat.

But however unwilling the Social Democratic Conference at Hanover may have been to admit it, it must be asserted here that the German movement against Karl Marx is more than a revolt against the practical methods of the Marxian system. As the Conference at Lübeck tardily acknowledged, it aims at penetrating into the very innermost part of the citadel, and seeks to subvert the theoretical foundations of the system itself. Perhaps not so much significance will be attached to this part of the movement among English working men, for, as has already been remarked, there has been little tendency in this country to study the *ipsissima verba* of Marx. His influence has been frequently seen in a disregard of every kind of patriotism, in a depreciation of all but manual labour, and in an underlying materialism which has too often found its way into English trade circles. But the Socialistic manifestos of Karl Marx were not simply declamatory; they were

appeals resting on a foundation of strict theory. There have been few more systematic thinkers in the history of the world than this great Social Democrat. If you grant his premises you are almost irresistibly pushed forward to his conclusion.

Now, the main influences in the early life of Marx were that of Hegel and especially that of the Hegelian Left, represented by Ludwig Feuerbach.* Hegelianism, however, is always a very dangerous philosophy for anyone who has to deal with purely historical investigations. Its persistent generalising tendency, and its desire to leap over historical periods with the aid of seven-leagued boots, all make it necessary for the student to be continually on the watch. "Never," said Benjamin Jowett, speaking of the Oxford Neo-Hegelian movement, "to the same extent has the human mind been dominated over by metaphysical conceptions as among ourselves. . . . They make the mind too large to take in small things—like a site of which the focus is disturbed, it disregards them or tries to weave them into a larger whole, or distorts them. History and even common life are converted into metaphysics."†

Marx was not always proof against the temptation to simplify where the facts were complex. As Hegel looked on history as the evolution of the idea, so Marx looked on history as the evolution of matter. In other words, he gave constant and almost exclusive attention, while estimating the character of a period and the forces that moulded it, to the economic conditions alone.‡

* For an interesting paper on the ethics of Feuerbach, see "Archiv. für Geschichte der Philosophie," 1899, p. 187.

† See "Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett," vol. ii., p. 110.

‡ In this he made exactly the opposite mistake from that made by Burke. Burke saw that fine speeches and political terrorism will not transform society, but he did not give its proper share of attention, as the last chapter has shown, to the "economic interpretation of history."

Now it is quite true that, as Prof. Thorold Rogers once reminded us, there is an economic side to the interpretation of history. The preachers of Wycliffe and the preaching of Wesley and Whitfield might not have had the same effect if England had not been at the time in a fairly prosperous stage of economic development.* But it is one thing to acknowledge the importance of economic and material conditions in their proper place; it is another and very different thing to claim them as the only conditions of importance. Modern Sociology, as was pointed out in the last chapter, is showing more and more conclusively that society has many kinds of social tissue. Not only economic, but legal, political, ethical, and religious causes determine what the situation of the future will be. Nay, it has even been shown that a certain order and scale of importance can be assigned to these different branches of the complete science of Sociology.† Material conditions are only the first to show their power in the history of civilisation. When everything else is in an immature and inchoate state, a man must at least struggle for his daily food. Economic tissues then, exercise a commanding influence in the early youth of the world's history.

As youth, however, changes into early manhood, other and more complex influences begin to appear. Early man gets cemented into tribes, and the first appearance of law is seen in the inspired and oracular decisions of the tribal patriarch. The significance of this advance lies in its demonstration that, as society gets more complex, it becomes more possible to modify it. It is only possible to a very limited extent to modify material conditions. The Eskimaux must work under the limitations of their polar climate, and civilisation had to migrate from the torrid to the temperate zone before it

* See Rogers, "Economic Interpretation of History," pp. 80-91.

† Cf. De Greef, "Introduction à la Sociologie," Ire Partie, p. 214; and also ch. ii.

made much progress. But when a lawgiver begins to decide difficulties it is possible for him to change the texture of society to a very large extent without necessitating any change of habitation. And when early law gets consolidated into a code, and when Sir Henry Maine's three factors—legal fictions, equity, and legislation—are seen to exercise their effect, then we see society becoming still more complex, but always still more under influences which can easily transform it. A legal fiction, for example, is a method of altering what, by the preliminary hypothesis, is presumed to be unalterable. It therefore belongs to a stage when conditions are reckoned to be comparatively petrified and immovable. But legislation, on the contrary, assumes that the old arrangements are not final, and that it is possible frankly to revise and change them. In the earlier stages of history conditions are everything, and man is fatally moulded by these conditions. In the later stages man asserts his pre-eminence and seeks to bring the conditions into correspondence with his will.*

Karl Marx, however, as has already been hinted, hardly ever gets further than the stage when conditions are everything and man is little or nothing. His materialistic premises press forward fatally to their conclusions. In the long evolution of history, society has passed from the stage of slavery to the stage of serfdom; from the stage where the labourer, body and soul, belongs to his master, to the stage where only the work of certain days can be appropriated by his master. Fortune's wheel, however, has not yet finished its revolutions. By a perfectly natural process the era of serfdom becomes transformed into the era of Capitalism. Masters and men face one another in a terrible fight for economic existence. The conditions of this fight are supposed to be equal. The labourer can contract as he pleases; he is no longer, as in the past, the property of his master.

* *Cp.* Dutoit, "Die Theorie des Milieu," pp. 93-107.

But this apparent equality conceals a real apple of discord. The labourer cannot behave as a perfectly free agent would. He has hardly ever a reserve fund to fall back on if not in work, while the capitalist has at his disposal all the accumulated stores of the past. "*Væ Victis*" is accordingly the watchword of the fight between them, and the labourer has often to sell his labour for any pittance which will enable him to keep body and soul together. Society is, in fact, approaching a state of things when the rich are getting fewer and richer and the poor poorer and more numerous. Capitalists get massed into huge bonanza companies, and small dealers, who formerly ran their own establishments, fall back baffled into the ranks of the proletariat. The whole future of society is in the hands of a cruel and heartless fate. We can see where events are leading us, but we are almost powerless to alter them in any way. The Hegelian dialectic, however, shows us that this state of things cannot last for ever. Society, as at present constituted, enfolds a latent contradiction. Capitalism is, in fact, organised for its own *private* ends, whereas, in strict reality, it is dependent on society for its continuance. Eventually this contradiction must be resolved in a higher unity. All traces of merely private interest must be purged out of Capitalism. The instruments of production and distribution must eventually become the property of the community, and capital must be used for the benefit of society generally.*

This is the famous analysis by means of which Karl Marx supports all his most revolutionary proposals. Large numbers of the old Socialists have hitherto followed it almost blindly, as if it were some *ex cathedra* deliverance. In particular it was an animating force in what was called the "New Unionism" in English

* Marx, "Das Kapital," vol. i., ch. xxxii. There is first private property; then its negation, capitalist property; then a negation of that negation, Socialist property.

Industrial politics. If, therefore, we are to lay down the lines of the policy of the future, we must see in what respect the evolution of German thought has shown that analysis to be defective. A good deal has already been said on this point in the course of exposition, but the whole trend of thought in Germany may be indicated under five heads.

In the first place it must be pointed out that subsequent history has not quite fulfilled the predictions which Karl Marx has made. The small dealer has not totally disappeared, as he would have us believe. No doubt there has been a tendency to increase the size of manufacturing establishments.* Large firms have, in many cases, killed the smaller tradesmen. But still this tendency has been by no means universal, and statistics show us that, to a very large extent, the middle class is still holding its own. And there are certain circumstances connected with industry which make this result not at all a surprising one. Wherever, for example, there is artistic work to be done, or where, as in a retail business, there are the varying wants of customers to be catered for, there the individual who can make a study of the business will have the advantage. No part of Bernstein's book is more convincing than that in which he studies this part of the question, and the reader who wishes to go further into the matter can safely be directed to the references below.† What we are chiefly concerned with in this chapter, however, is the fact that a recognition of this point must completely alter the practical methods of Social Democracy. If you are dealing with a state of society where small traders are vanishing and strengthening the ranks of

* *Cp.* Ely, "Monopolies and Trusts," pp. 180-216.

† See Bernstein, "Die Voraussetzungen des Socialismus und die Aufgaben der Social Demokratie," pp. 59-69, and *cp.* for France and England, Kidd, "Social Evolution," pp. 224-225; *cp.* also for this whole subject "Le vie nuove del Socialismo," by Ivanoe Bonomi, Milan, 1907.

discontent, you can issue fiery and uncompromising manifestos with some prospect of success. You are speaking to a discontented class, and as they have been deprived of their possessions they have nothing to lose by any social upheaval. But if there is, even in your working-class district, a large number of small capitalists who are keenly interested in keeping their little all together, then you may take it for certain that any revolutionary language will throw them into active opposition. The old Social Democracy has too often allowed itself to be misled by Marx into neglecting the middle-class ratepayer. The new Social Democracy must, on the contrary, look on this gentleman as a quantity to be reckoned with.

In the second place, and as has before been pointed out, Karl Marx tended too much to neglect personal agency in his analysis of society, and especially the agency of law and legislation. Now the earliest article in the programme of English Social Democracy was a proposal of this latter kind—the enactment of a universal and compulsory Eight Hours' Bill.* This, it is true, has not yet been granted; but in a score of other Acts the course of English legislation has brightened the labourer's lot and dispelled the cloud of fatalism which lingers around a purely economic development. Karl Marx's analysis would be all very well if material forces were allowed to work out their effects *in vacuo*; but municipalities, by their labour policies, and sanitary reformers, by their administration, can do a great deal to break the shock of merely impersonal agencies. Even the co-operative movement has shown, in this connection, what the labourer can voluntarily do, and Bernstein is prepared to give a

* In 1890 the Trade Union Congress at Liverpool decided by 193 votes against 155 for the legal recognition of an eight hours' day. That very year Bismarck fell, and it was decided not to renew those coercive laws which prevented a great German Parliamentary Socialist movement.

great deal of weight to co-operation. The new Social Democrat, in fact, cannot afford to despise law and legislation. He must lose a good deal of his contempt for bourgeois Parliaments. The analysis on which this attitude has been hitherto founded has been shown to be defective, and for the future he must be content to be a little more careful and conciliatory.

In the third place, the old Social Democrat was very unsatisfactory in his treatment of the relative claims of hand and head labour. It is well known, of course, that Karl Marx proposed to express all value in terms of a certain standard—the labour of a man of average strength working a socially necessary time *with his hands* at a certain work.* But to this theory the Austrian School of Menger and Böhm-Bawerk very properly object that it forgets the psychological element in value—the estimate which other men put on the product of your work. You may work all day, and almost sweat yourself to death; but if other people persist in under-estimating your labour you cannot get your own standard of value recognised by anybody but yourself. Consequently you have not the same right to preach a revolution on the ground that you have not got your rights. As there is a subjective element in all value, you are going too far when you make your particular subjective estimate the canon of the universe. All this has been proved to the hilt, and need not be further dwelt on. But it is not so common to remember in the same connection that brain work has its rights as well as hand work. It is not, and cannot be, possible to estimate brain work in terms of a standard borrowed from hand work.† The actual manual labour expended on “Das Kapital” may not have been so very great, but when we take into account its influence on society

* Cp. Rae, “Contemporary Socialism,” p. 162.

† Cp. Stein, “Die Sociale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie,” p. 403.

—its actual psychological and sociological value—we can see that any estimate based on mere manual labour is fundamentally misleading. Karl Marx's theory of value, then, must be joined to the speculations of the Austrian school if it is at all to cover the facts. But this concession is of essential importance for the practical work of Social Democracy. There has been too much tendency in the past to obliterate the difference between hand and brain work, and to assume that the hand workman, if promoted to Parliament and metamorphosed into a Labour member, will most efficiently serve the interests of his class. No greater mistake can possibly be made, and here also the influence of Karl Marx has led Social Democracy sadly astray. Parliamentary tactics need special capabilities and a particular order of mind, which are not necessarily cultivated in a workshop; and if Social Democracy wants to win legislative victories it must seek out the man whose hands may be unable to do what his comrade can, but who has the head to be not merely a revolutionary enthusiast, but a "Saviour of society" in the true Browning sense of the word.

In the fourth place, the old Social Democracy has very much under-estimated the influence of ethics and religion on the hearts and minds of men. No doubt there has been from the first a party of Social Democrats who have seen the need of revision on this point,* but on the whole the materialism which Marx originally

* In the next chapter it is shown that this hostility was more to the churches than to religion. Reference may also be made in this connection to J. Stern in his "Die Religion der Zukunft," and "Thesen über den Socialismus"; see also Paul Gohre, "Kirke und Kirchenaustritts—Bewegung in "Socialistische Monatshefte," March 11th, 1909. There was also a very interesting controversy in the Czech Social Democratic monthly during 1909 between F. B. Krejci and the well-known Marxian critic, Professor Masaryk. It is to be noticed that in Morgan's "Ancient Society"—a book which much influenced Marx—the author specially notes that the religious factors in the evolution of society are excluded by the plan of his book.

stamped on the movement has been visible ever since. Trade Unions have met in public-houses and paid their "wet rent." Labour leaders have shown a more or less hostile attitude to the organised religious bodies. Of course, there has been a good deal of fault on both sides. Perhaps religion has too often answered to the description given to it by the earlier Socialist Saint Simon, that it devoted its attention to another world instead of giving just a little share of its mind to this. But the taunt is getting less and less in point. Religion is becoming every day more ethical and practical; even the Eastern religions are being closely and sympathetically studied;* and a tremor of faith in the unseen is passing through many circles of society. If the Social Democrat is going to neglect this mighty factor in the social organism, he is neglecting one of the most essential elements in the problem which he is studying. Religious and ethical changes may transform the individuals who mould the social situation; they may profoundly modify the antagonisms which economical development has created; and they may be finally needed in order to adjust the relations of individuals in the ideal society of the future.

In the fifth place, and as a consequence of all that has been previously said, the new Social Democracy must not expect to formulate its demands in a cast-iron and all-sufficient programme. Even during the lifetime of Karl Marx, the Russian Bakunin was convinced that the German system was not final, and time has shown that Bakunin represented quite a formidable school of thought. There is no purpose served in obliterating all distinctions of race. Every century has its special problem, and every race has its periods

* Mr. Fielding's "Soul of a People" exercised a great influence on many leaders of the English Socialist movement. Mr. Jas. Allan's "All these Things Added" (The Savoy Publishers Co., 1903) is also an example of this phase of thought.

of domination and decline.* If we read the first volume of Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," we soon find that it was to France, the great Romance nation, that the eyes of statesmen and diplomatists were turned. In our own time we have been accustomed to see the triumphs of the English and German races. But now that the new century has begun we see signs of the great influence exerted by the Slavonic writer and teacher, Count Tolstoy. Whether Russia has any new development of Social Democracy to give us, it remains for the future to show; but if she has, we can promise her that the new Social Democracy, mindful of the past and no longer in bondage to Karl Marx, will be prepared to examine it without prejudice.

* *Cp.* Stein, "An der Wende des Jahrhunderts," pp. 380-392.

IV

THE SITUATION IN 1910

THE TRANSITION FROM THE LAST CHAPTER—ADVANTAGE OF DEALING WITH EVOLUTION AT AN EARLY STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FORECAST IN 1901.

VERIFICATIONS OF THE FORECAST :—

(a) THE MOVEMENT FROM MARX—PROGRESS OF ANTI-MARXIAN CRITICISM — THE THIRD VOLUME OF "DAS KAPITAL"—DEFECTS OF THE THEORY OF "SURPLUS VALUE"—FRENZIED FINANCE—ARE THE PHRASES "UNEARNED INCREMENT" AND "MONOPOLY VALUE" A RETURN TO THE MARXIAN POSITION?—AN ESTIMATE OF RECENT POLITICAL PHRASES IN THEIR RELATION TO MARXIAN THEORIES.

(b) THE RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY—CHANGE IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT—LABOUR PARTY'S INAUGURAL MEETING—CONFUSION BETWEEN ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL ACTION OF TRADE UNIONS—PROGRESS OF LABOUR.

(c) CLASSES AND MASSES—SURVIVAL OF THE SMALL WORKSHOP—MORAL CHASM IN SOCIETY—HOW THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY CAN MEET THE SITUATION.

(d) LAW AND LEGISLATION—LEGAL FICTIONS, EQUITY, AND LEGISLATION—IMPORTANCE OF JURISTIC THEORIES IN SOCIALISM—JUDGE-MADE LAW—HOW TO SECURE THE SUPREMACY OF THE LEGISLATOR—PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE.

(e) THE HAND AND THE HEAD—HOW HEAD LABOUR HAS VINDICATED ITS CLAIM TO IMPORTANCE—JOURNALISTS AS TRADE UNIONISTS—SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS FOR THE FUTURE.

(f) RELIGION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—THE MARXIAN SOCIALIST MISUNDERSTOOD RELIGION—EVIDENCES OF CHANGE IN BRITAIN—A GOOD CHRISTIAN NEED NOT BE A BAD SOCIALIST.

(g) POLITICS AND PROGRAMMES—IMPOSSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMMES IN POLITICS—DIFFERENCES OF NATIONAL TYPES—THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

APPENDIX—THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION—GLEAMS OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

Nine years bring many changes in a nation's life. The practice of "speeding up" has been applied to societies as well as to individuals. In 1901 the idea of flight in machines heavier than air seemed a fanciful and far-off dream. In 1910 it has become the sport of crowds, and is christened by the name of "aviation." It may even seem absurd, when the great world is spinning "down the ringing grooves of change," to print any speculations that are so much as nine years old. But the facts with which sociology deals at any given time are so complicated that it is sometimes a great help to deal with them in the simpler form which they assumed a few years previously. When we are too close to events we lose the sense of proportion. The nearest mountain is the monarch of all we survey. No climber speculates, whilst ascending Mount Blanc, whether Mount Blanc is higher than Mount Everest. You need to be out of the glamour of the immediate presence of the peak before you apply the comparisons of cold arithmetic. So in earlier books and in the works of bygone thinkers you can often find in a simpler form principles that have now become almost explosive in the practice of modern revolutionary parties. In

Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" there is quite an innocent reference to "that original state of things" when "the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer" and when the labourer "has neither landlord nor master to share with him." Here we have a simple statement which brings us close to the driving power of much of the "old Socialism." But how horrified would the canny Scotch Professor have been if some prophetic spirit had let into the secret of his intellectual children!

The last chapter, written as it was before many of our modern movements had developed, yet contrives to deal with most of the varieties of "tissue" which make up the complete life of society. It makes no mention of family relations or of the place of Art in the new Democracy; but it rapidly touches on the economic, religious, legal, political, and philosophical influences that play their part in the nation's life. Its forecasts are most detailed when they deal with economics,* as in the case of the "anticipations" under the first, third, and fourth heads. The remarks about "law" and "legislation" under the second head are justified by the spread and progress of Juristic and Political Socialism. Under the fifth head, the forecast was hazarded that "the new Social Democracy must not expect to formulate its demands in a cast-iron and all-sufficient programme." The eighth chapter of this book, "Are Labourists Radicals?" shows how necessary it is to keep this consideration in mind. When you reach the realm of the political "tissues" you cannot argue from nation to nation as you do in the simpler realm of economics. France is Latin and Germany is Teuton, and Latins, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons have

* Economic conditions tend to become similar wherever commercialism extends its operations. Thus the Austrian Socialists have been able to unite all the varied races of the Empire on the basis of economic demands.

their particular conditions which complicate the problems of politics.

THE MOVEMENT FROM MARX.

No anticipations in the last chapter have been more abundantly justified than those which deal with the movement from Marx. It is now possible for the English reader to study "Das Kapital" in all its three volumes. The third and not the least important of these had been published by F. Engels in 1894, and though it led to many discussions in Germany, and had especially drawn a powerful and searching criticism from Böhm-Bawerk, it had not in 1901 become known to any extent in our own country.* British thought has, only too often, been hopelessly insular. The streak of "silver sea" seems to separate us from our neighbours not only in space but in spirit. Even in 1910 it cannot be said that in Great Britain Karl Marx is much read in his own works and as expressed in the formulæ of his own system. He is more influential in the United States than he is in the United Kingdom; and when commentators on Marx are read, it is rather the commentaries of a Revisionist tendency than those which repeat "the words, the whole words, and nothing but the words," of the master.†

So far as Germany is concerned, the Revisionist movement is gaining ground all along the line. The political condition of the country certainly hastens the

* There is a very interesting analysis of the third volume of "Das Kapital" by M. Vandervelde in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," vol. 8, t. ii., 1902, pp. 1249 and 1297; *cp.* also Schaeffle, "Quintessence of Socialism," p. 123.

† In 1908, twenty-five years after the death of Marx, articles appeared on him and special pamphlets were published by most of the Socialist societies of the world. All had to admit that the army of critics was increasing. Of noteworthy recent criticisms I may mention Tugan-Baranowsky's "Theoretische Grundlagen des Marxismus," Mahler's "Marxismus und soziale Entwicklung," and Biermann's "Weltanschauung des Marxismus."

move in this direction. The Marxian system, as the last chapter pointed out, laid predominant and almost exclusive stress on the economic conditions which make and mould a country's progress. For systems of government, the poet tells us, "fools may contest"; but, as the enthusiastic Marxian, K. Kautsky, pointed out in a reply to E. Bernstein, "one sees class government flourish as conspicuously—and even more so—in democratic states, than in countries where the people are wholly refused place and power."* There is a kernel of truth in this Marxian contention which cannot be disregarded; but considered in its most extreme and unqualified form, it is not true in 1910 that the German Socialists look on the less democratic constitution of German government as of no significance for the Socialist game. As I write these lines (April, 1910), the German Socialist newspapers are full of Franchise demonstrations. Hundreds and thousands of men and women tramp through the streets of Berlin asking not for the "Right to Work," but for the democratic privilege of exercising their proper share of influence in the electoral contests of Prussia. Liberty rather than Fraternity is the overmastering cry. It is not possible to say that economic conditions are everything when the political conditions are such that the overwhelming majority of a convinced and educated proletariat cannot make their convictions effective in constitutional law and practice.

Therefore the critics of Marx now speak with calm confidence and look on the course of events as every day justifying their convictions. In a recent book† E. Bernstein rapidly surveys the course of the Revisionist movement in Germany during the time since the last chapter was written, and affirms, as the

* See *Vorwärts*, March 18th, 1899.

† "Der Revisionismus in der Social Demokratie," Amsterdam, 1909.

result of it, that he has nothing to subtract from the criticisms of Socialist dogma which he made during the earlier days of his apostleship. He is studiously just and even generous in his references to Marx himself. He is inclined to maintain that he and not his critics is the true and effective Marxian. This is, of course, a usual incident of reform movements when they get strong enough to dispense with merely acrid criticism of the past.* In the callow youth of a social reform, its ministers may be persecuted and ostracised. But when they speak no longer as "infants crying in the night," but as mature men at the head of a great army, then even the "principalities and powers" may be honoured by a share of their acquaintance.

The most important claim now made for Marx by his most enlightened German critics is that he changed into current coin the idea of evolution in industrial development. His "Critique of Political Economy" appeared in the same year as Darwin's "Origin of Species," and the fundamental thoughts of the two books run in the same direction. But the very emphasis he himself puts on development is fatal to the idea of his remaining an unalterable oracle. Just because society is dynamic and not static, it was impossible for Marx to lay down a course of policy which was true for all ages and times. History has told us many things that fifty years ago were veiled in obscurity. Life has become more complex. Capital has been internationalised. In presence of the great Trusts and Cartels, which, like Carlyle's Shoeblack, claim the world for their inheritance, it almost provokes a smile to speak of the be-all and end-all of Socialism as the "nationalisation of production."† New tools and fresh industrial

* See Hermann's "Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott," where he hitches the Ritschlian waggon to Luther.

† Mr. J. A. Hobson has given an impressive summary of the growing power of Cartels and Trusts in "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," p. 180 *et seq.*

inventions have revolutionised the course of industry, but small shopkeepers rise up to sell electric fittings just as the old oil-shop opened its door to the willing buyer of fuel for the primitive lamp. Capital was never stronger or more defiant, never did it hold its head more erect than it does at the present day. There is no sign that it is approaching an inevitable Marxian collapse. Marx held that the big establishments would swallow up the little ones, and then that the State would swallow up them all. The reverse of this has actually happened. The Capitalists are swallowing up the State rather than the State the Capitalists. The Trusts are threatening the very basis of the American Constitution. Sociology, with its methods and comparisons, has enabled us to make many successful forecasts in economic history, but Marx lived and worked before Sociology had become a preoccupation of scientific minds.

The truth is, that Marx's "Das Kapital" consists of two easily separated parts. The first is a didactic or Utopian part, contained in the earlier chapters of the first volume of the work. It was inspired more by the method of the Hegelian dialectic than by the results of living experience. The second is a historical or experimental part, such as the investigations contained in the second half of the first and the whole of the third volume. It is the second part which is most in line with the historical and sociological studies of the year 1910. But it is the first part which becomes a chief article in the creed of most of the modern Socialist societies. Its power lies in its didactic character. The words "ought" and "must" are written across its speculations in large and prominent letters. The people *ought* to have "the surplus value of their labour." The people *must* have "the surplus value of their labour." And the "ought" and the "must" are justified not by appeals to sentiment or passion but by the cold calculations of arithmetic. It is possible

to express all values in terms of a certain quantitative standard, and so you can show to the people wronged by how much exactly they have been wronged. The first effect of economic thought in the year 1910 is to make us dispute altogether the possibility of such precise and quantitative exactness. As a matter of fact we must go back to savage society instead of the society we know if we want to estimate the precise equivalent in days and hours of the labour for which the labourer has received no return.* The moment we pass from savage to civilised surroundings, we discover that it is absolutely necessary to take account of the psychological rather than arithmetical considerations. We live in an age of "Frenzied Finance." A market is defined in a recent American economic text-book as "indeed a critical mental point, in the reaching of which two human souls reveal themselves in all their selfishness or nobility."† "This is especially the era," says Carlyle, "when all manner of inquiries into what was once the unfelt, involuntary sphere of man's existence find their place, and, as it were, occupy the whole domain of thought." The great masters of millions in America work their will by playing on the hopes and fears, the passions and cupidities of men and women. T. W. Lawson, in his book on "Frenzied Finance," tells us that he got letters from unknown correspondents imploring him "to put up sugar," as if he could play on the Stock Exchange as he would on some inanimate musical instrument. "From the direction

* Thus in a recent Congo paper (Africa, No. 1, 1907) Vice-Consul Mitchell reports: "In all the villages which I have passed in my two journeys, it takes the natives three weeks every month to find and make their tale of rubber." Here we have a clear and measurable case of appropriated surplus value—three weeks of hand-labour power filched away by hard and cruel taskmasters. Marx was a "Romantic" in so far as he applied to the criticism of commercialism of his day a simplified or savage life which had long ceased to operate.

† "Principles of Wealth and Welfare," by C. L. Raper, p. 216.

of the Wheat Pit," says a powerful American novelist, in his description of the scene on 'Change, "had come a sudden and vehement renewal of tumult. The traders as one man were roaring in chorus. There were cheers; hats went up into the air. On the floor by the lowest step two brokers, their hands trumpet-wise to their mouths, shouted at top voice to certain friends at a distance; while above them on the topmost step of the Pit a dozen others, their arms at fullest stretch, threw the hand signals that interpret the fluctuations in the price to their associates in the various parts of the building. Again and again the cheers rose, violent hip, hip, hurrahs, while from all corners and parts of the floor men and boys come scurrying up." Here we have a study in "pathological economics." Society has become diseased. The means are confounded with the ends. The body politic is dyspeptic because it devotes too much conscious attention to its digestive processes. Steel stock is valued not for the labour spent in blast furnaces, where may be found "grimy, smoke-stained men, stripped to the waist and streaming with perspiration," but for the facility with which it lends itself to the new combinations in the money-changers' game. It may be said that I must not judge a body wholly from its diseased conditions; but unfortunately these psychological considerations come in at every stage of the economic operations in the society of 1910. I open the newspaper in April of that year and find that in that month a liner called the "Minnehaha" went ashore near Bryher, in the Scilly Islands. The ship lay dangerously on a shelving rock with fourteen fathoms of water alongside. What was to be done? Obviously the cargo had to be got rid of. So the crew at once threw overboard the heaviest part of it, consisting of motor cars, pianos, and machinery. Each of these motor cars or pianos, every piece of machinery stowed on the wrecked ship, represented a large amount of congealed

labour power. Did the sailors reckon up the units of value in hours of labour before they threw them overboard? Would the most hidebound Marxian, in these circumstances, have insisted that they were of any value at all? Surely not. The truth is that here is another of the occasions where human hopes and fears come in to complicate the economic game. Human nature is not nearly so simple as Marx imagined. You cannot so easily ignore all the "higher" functions in a complex organism and reduce the living man or woman to a simple economic machine, even supposing we all lived happily in a wonderful Collectivist State with the best of officials to watch over our destinies.* Is it certain that "psychology" would not come in to complicate economics?

Let me quote some sentences from Schaëffle which are very much to the point: "If the Socialistic citizen," says he, "demands bread after a bad harvest, the Socialist chief is not able to offer him stones, or clothes, or amusement instead. But he who demands the much-desired bread must submit to a rate beyond the cost value, so as to make him cut his coat according to his cloth, in order that all may have at least the needful amount of the deficient, but more coveted commodity. Therefore the socialistic value—'exchange value'—must not be determined only by the cost, but also at the same time by the varying use value; otherwise Socialist demand and supply would fall into a hopeless quantitative and qualitative discrepancy, which would be beyond control."† In fact, if we are to introduce perfect harmony into the discrepancies of Marxian economics, we must introduce capitalists or managers made of other stuff than that which constitutes fallen human nature. Sentiment never comes in to complicate

* In ch. vii. it is shown that such a Collectivist State is not the necessary result of economic evolution.

† Schæffle, "Quintessence of Socialism," p. 87.

their economic intentions. Their pleasures are "calm." Their pains "majestic." They would as readily make beer as Bibles. They never make anything that is not "socially necessary." No goods sent by them would linger in the market. They would give "points" to the Pope in their proclamations of infallibility.* I have remarked already that the characteristic of the commercialism of to-day is that "digestion" and "nutrition" have become self-conscious. "Compassion," "justice," "righteousness"—some of the noblest faculties in society as we find it—are in danger of atrophy, because all the nutritive fluid of the social organism has gone to replace the energy consumed in the pitiless "rush for wealth." But the amount of mental energy spent in the dyspeptic society of to-day would be nothing to that required to provide against any risk of danger in such a delicately balanced Collectivist society of the future.

Baffled here, the Marxian may take refuge in the political field of human activity. What are the watch-words of the Radical politics of 1910? What are the meanings of the phrases "unearned increment" and "monopoly value"? Are they not simply another name for the "surplus value" (Mehrwert) of Karl Marx?

The first reply is that Marx has no exclusive patent

* This is the position taken up by Bouden (*International Socialist Review*, vol. vi., p. 302 *et seq.*) in a series of articles which have been translated and won commendation from prominent Marxians on the Continent. By him, as by other Marxians, the words "socially necessary" are used in a way which really brings in by a side wind the "psychology" theory of value. Of course the theories of Böhm-Bawerk, to be complete, would have to be supplemented by a table of psychological motives in their order of value. On the sociological side they need such an estimate of the different "tissues" and "functions" of society as is given in this book. See Lifschitz, "Zur Kritik der Böhm-Bawerkschen Werttheorie" (Leipzig, 1908); *cp.* also Tarde, "Psychologie Economique."

for the use of the phrase "surplus value." Many English writers comparatively unknown in their own country had noticed that there was something very unequal in the distribution of wealth.* "Would you like," wrote William Thompson more than a century ago to the distressed weavers of Spitalfields, "to enjoy yourselves the whole products of your labour? You have nothing more to do than simply to alter the direction of your labour. Instead of working for you know not whom, work for each other." John Bray, another of the same school, has put the case even more forcibly and clearly: "Capitalists and proprietors do no more than give the working man for his labour of one week a part of the wealth which they obtained from him the week before. Thus, view the matter as we will, there is to be seen no towering pile of wealth which has not been heaped together by rapacity." Extracts like these prove that Marx can put forward no claim to have discovered "surplus value"; in fact, his own historical notebooks, since published, trace the growth of the idea of surplus value from the Physiocrats to Ricardo.

In the second place, and as I have already shown, the essence of the Marxian idea of "surplus value" lies in its quantitative exactness. Marx can tell the injured workman the exact number of hours of labour power of which he has been robbed. He can inflame his zeal by heaping up the measure of the wickedness of his oppressors. But there are no such revolutionary implications in most of the thoughts that masquerade in 1910

* It is a sad reproach to British Socialists that one has to go to Germany rather than their own country for modern editions of these early English writers. There is an edition in two volumes of William Thompson's works included in the "Bibliothik der Volkswirtschaftslehre und Gesellschaftswissenschaft" (Berlin, 1903); while Ogilvie, Gray, Spence, and Hall form special volumes in "Hauptwerke des Sozialismus und der Social politik," edited by Dr. George Adler (Leipzig, 1903). See also "Thomas Hodgskin," by Elie Halévy (Paris, 1903). Marx gives lengthened quotations from Bray and Gray in "Misère de la Philosophie," pp. 92 and 259.

under the banner of "monopoly value" or "unearned increment." So far as land is concerned, a certain definiteness of numerical statement has been reached. In 1865 a plot of land on the foreshore of the Thames near the Temple was sold for £8,250. In 1870 the Victoria Embankment was built at the ratepayers' expense, and in 1871 the same plot of land was sold to the London School Board for £26,420. Therefore it may well be said that in six years a "surplus value," or "unearned increment" of the exact sum of £18,170 had accrued to a certain ground landlord. But the men who call attention to these facts most vigorously are "Single-Taxers." They are members of the "League for the Taxation of Ground Values." Henry George is their master and not Karl Marx. When we come to the whole field of industry this "unearned increment" or "forced value" or "monopoly value," is not so capable of exact quantitative statement.* In the case of public-house adjustments, it is the theme of much talk in Parliament and elaborate suits in the law courts. You cannot start a revolution with a mere "perhaps," and the "forced value" or "quasi rent" of the economist of to-day is very different in its suggestions from the "surplus value" of Karl Marx.

RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

So far as the "movement from Marx" is concerned, the forecast of the last chapter has been abundantly verified. But what about the rise and progress of the Labour Party? Is not this a characteristic of the decade that has not been sufficiently anticipated?

The answer is that the Labour Party is the political child of the "New Unionism." In the last chapter reference was made to the "New Unionism" as a characteristic product of the time, and the forecast was

* For the most modern treatment of the question see "The Industrial System," by J. A. Hobson.

hazarded that the "New Unionism" would adopt a Revisionist and not a Marxian type of Social Democracy. The "New Unionism" is simply the "Labour Party," and its economic side. The "New Unionism"—as was shown in the last chapter, took its rise from the London Dock strike of 1889, and the British Labour Party, in its earliest reports, claim to owe their initial impulse to the same momentous period. Politically, they occupy a unique position. As will be shown at length in the eighth chapter, you cannot safely argue a case for certain political tactics on the assumption that the circumstances of one nation are the same as those of another. Great Britain is very different from Russia. No one, in fact, need be surprised to find that in the field of political practice, the British Labourists have built up an organisation and initiated a union of Trade Unionism for middle class Socialism peculiarly their own. The whole world of thought has changed in the years from 1901 to 1910. Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Feuerbach, and other "dead but sceptred sovereigns" mentioned in the last chapter, have lost the greater share of their power. Practice has displaced theory. Synthesis has enriched analysis. Pragmatism has snatched the palm from Hegelianism. We estimate the value of a movement not from what it is, but from what it makes us do. Eucken and Bergson are more influential than Schliermacher or Schopenhauer. No change could have suited our new social movements better than this. On our side of the Channel there exists a genius for the practical. The British and American Pragmatists are of equal—if not superior—calibre to any of their French and German compeers. Economically, the provision of the last chapter has been justified. The new Labour Party is Revisionist in its economics,* but politically it

* Take, for example, Mr. J. R. MacDonald's "Socialism and Society." On every line of it there may be found the impress of revisionist economics; though there is also in Mr. MacDonald's case the influence of the biological school in sociology.

has a power all its own. In this respect it has not been "made in Germany."

The British Labour Party was brought to birth at a meeting in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Tuesday, February 27th, 1900, and it was just making its first attempts to score electoral triumphs when the last chapter was written. Both Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. John Burns, who are there quoted, were present at that meeting, and it is interesting to compare the Cabinet Minister of to-day with the orator who made the quotation given in the course of the forecast of 1901. Since then its development has amply demonstrated that there is something unique in the political history of England. Confirmed Marxians like K. Kautsky are obliged to admit that British political tactics are *sui generis*. "Since the time of the Stuarts," says he, "the evolution of England has followed its own path, and it would be hide-bound prejudice to carry over to Germany the conceptions of the relation of the people of the middle classes which we gain in England. There we have quite another middle class, and quite a different people with political traditions and an internal situation quite peculiar to themselves." This fact, so clearly discerned by the German theorist, has been apparent from the first in the practical tactics of the British Labour Party. The Germans, with their powerful Trade Union organisation have not been able in the same way to weld union and political organisation together. The French Social Democrats think brightly and suggestively, but a large body of these unionists condemn all political action.* In Britain Trade Unionism and the political Labour Party were apparently happily welded together.

Of course there was a danger in all this. Trade

* See "Le Conflit des doctrines dans l'économie politique contemporaine," by C. Brouillet; "L'avenir socialiste des syndicats," by G. Sorel; and "Syndicalisme Révolutionnaire et Syndicalisme Réformiste," by Félicien Challaye. There has recently been published even a "Catechisme syndicaliste" (Brussels, 1910).

Unionism is an economic movement. It is a movement of men who find their masters federated in unions more powerful than their own. Strikes, locks-out, or round-table conferences where neither party can afford to give points are usual incidents of its existence. In politics, on the contrary, a party, to be really a party, must represent more than a mere class interest. Or to put it in another way, the Trade Union secretary in his economic capacity is out to represent the men. In his political capacity he is in Parliament to represent his constituents. In the eighth chapter this will be discussed at length, and it will be pointed out what changes the new Social Democracy suggests in the political methods of the Labour Party. But on its practical side, the party was saved from any catastrophe by the fact that it seemed instinctively to see in its Parliamentary action that it could not cling to rigid notions of independence based on its economic experience. It has never been consciously collectivist. It refuses to put State ownership of every kind of capital as an essential element in its programme. It passes platonic resolutions which appear to imply collectivism, but which, when dissected, only carry the meaning that "the means of production, distribution and exchange" should be worked by the people and in the interests of the people. The original draft of its political programme set out that its policy "must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of Labour and be equally ready to associate itself with any party in opposing members having an opposite tendency." At Newcastle, in 1903, the wording of the article was changed to imply a stricter programme of absolute independence, but the fact that the first draft was that quoted above shows that the men who founded the party had the glimmering of the difference between political and industrial conflicts.

In its first political tract the British Labour Party

betrayed the Marxian atmosphere in which, as was pointed out in the last chapter, the "New Unionism" had been born.* It pointed out how the "economic problem of capitalism was taking the place of the legal problem of anti-Trade Union legislation." It is therefore all the more surprising that the forecast of the last chapter has been borne out, and that with so much to suggest a "class war" in its economic experience it has made so many modifications of its dogmas in Parliament that its critics accuse its leading members of blowing hot without and blowing cold within the walls of St. Stephen's.

But it will be advisable before this chapter ends to say some things which can be most conveniently said here on the five points which were specially suggested for forecasts in the last chapter. Points one and three, which are economic, need not be further developed. Point two, so far as is legal, will not be the subject of any future discussion. So far as it is political it will, with point five, be the theme of the eighth chapter. Point four, which concerns religion, will receive further elucidation in the last chapter of the book.

CLASSES AND MASSES.

In the first place, the new Social Democracy is not entirely committed to the Marxian economic forecast of the future. It does not simply trust to Destiny for the expropriation of the expropriators. Its leading motives are pity for the poor, the unemployed, and the helpless, and a passionate desire to see the reign of justice inaugurated on the earth beneath. It cries out with Ada Negri, the Italian poetess, when she saw the intolerable misery of the people:—

* See report of the first conference of the Labour Representation Committee at Manchester, p. 8; also L.R.C. Leaflets, No. 1, "Labour and Politics." Writers like Professor Sombart, misled by economic experience, give an all-round countenance to the Marxian idea of the class war. See Sombart's "Sozialismus und Sociale Bewegung," p. 63.

"Inguista al pari de la tua miseria,
É la miseria mia." *

"Every year," so it is put in the first leaflet of the Labour Party, "it is becoming more difficult for a working man to find a decent house at a reasonable rate. Industry is crippled and the life of the worker rendered precarious by extortionate railway charges, mining royalties and land rents." On the other side of this "great gulf fixed," Capital was flaunting its power more proudly than ever. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. in engineering; Coates, Clark, Kerr in sewing cotton; Wilson, Leyland, and Furness in shipping; the London Coal Ring; the Bradford Dyers; all these, in the opinion of the men who founded the Labour Party, showed the commanding influence at that time of the masters of many millions. Strikes and lock-outs, in the daily and yearly experience of the Unions, proved that the interests of master and man did not always pull in the same direction.† This again suggested a ravine in society which few bridges could span; but the new social Democracy refuses to take a hopeless view of the prospects of the future. It has noticed that though the crises in industry still continue, the periods of depression have a tendency to shorten and the periods of expansion to lengthen. It is even conceivable that, as Marshall has pointed out, the advance of methods of storage in electrical science will enable the small workshop in the days to come to supplant the big, unmanageable factory.‡ The new Social Democracy makes no rash appeals. It uses no merely inflammatory language.

* "All my sorrows matched with thine
Are as moonlight unto sunlight,
And as water unto wine."

† For the European statistics and a vigorous presentation of this aspect of the question see Paul Louis, "Le Syndicalisme contre l'état," p. 201.

‡ Marshall's "Principles of Economics," p. 41.

It realises that the little capitalist or the small-holder is not yet dead; and it can understand even the troubles of a middle-class ratepayer in a London borough.

Undoubtedly the chasm between different classes of society yawns as threateningly as ever. If it be true that the times of depression do not extend over so many years, it is also true that they are more noticed and resented. If it be true that the day of the small establishment is not yet ended, it is also true that a stronger blaze of limelight plays on the luxury and pride of the company promoter in Park Lane. "Poverty," as Emerson says, "consists in feeling poor," and the very fact that Syndicalism has made the progress it has in France shows that "Gurth, born thrall to Cedric the Saxon," is now beginning to rub his eyes. In our modern civilisation this moral chasm is far deeper than the material gulf. The workman beholds his bright and promising boy stop short at the dead wall which bars his future advancement. The small shopkeeper sees his efforts all in vain, and the savings of years dissipated when the big Trust opens a shop opposite and crushes him by reducing the price below his margin of profit. Statisticians are beginning to work up the comparative tables of income, and hard as a small and select circle struggle to keep its gains for its own private consumption, it is now possible both in France, Britain, and Germany to know how very few, relatively, there are in the land with an income above £700 a year. The publication of facts like these have created a deep impression.* The scales have fallen from the eyes of the people. Men who were content a few years ago to move on in an uncomplaining spirit in the hard path of an unending routine are now rousing themselves, like Rip Van Winkle, from an age-long

* Most observers of social movements will admit that the publication of such statistics as those in Mr. Chiozza Money's "Riches and Poverty" have been a powerful influence in favour of the new Social Democracy.

sleep. The women have felt the contagion of the new spirit. They, too, through the "Social and Political Union" and other agencies, are showing how much they feel their chains. All over society there is deep-rooted unrest and an evident searching of hearts. The Syndicalist comes to the exasperated workman in his Trade Union and seeks to soothe him by preaching the "myth" or dogma of a "new earth" to be reached and renovated by the General Strike. But the new Social Democracy believes in neither myths nor dogmas. It knows that Rome was never built in a single day. It sees in the unrest no mere feeling of earthly origin. It is not because he covets his neighbour's bank balance that the Trade Unionist cries out for the new Social Democracy, but because his spirit has been outraged by the evident injustice of the arrangements he sees perpetuated on every side around him. The new reformers will not quiet him simply by transferring a few more shillings to his credit on the Saturday pay-day. They must pour oil on the aching wounds of his spirit. They must satisfy him that justice has been done at last. The old Socialism, which disregarded the moral or the spiritual and looked on economics as the "chief end of man," has very little influence here. The new Social Democrat knows he must proceed step by step. Even the proletariat you help are sometimes like a wild beast which turns to rend you. Reforms are sometimes lost from sight in a raging "sea of troubles." Everyone who works for the future soon gets to understand what Hegel has called "the pain and patience of the negative." But the new Social Democracy holds firmly to the idea that

"This world's no blot for us,

Nor blank ; it means intensely and means good."

In other words, the new Social Democracy does not despise Utopias or ideals.* But it makes one qualification

* Cp. "La Verdad Social," por Albeldo Romero. Quíñones, Guadalajara. 1903.

which was not always remembered by the old Utopian Socialists. Your ideal must never be simply the negation of the real. It must manifest itself—albeit slowly and obstinately—through the medium of the real; and you cannot make a clean sweep of all that surrounds you in the present to share with the Syndicalist, a sure and certain hope that in the scramble—somehow, somewhere—the new Jerusalem will suddenly appear to our astonished eyes.*

LAW AND LEGISLATION.

In the second place, the new Social Democracy is now laying increasing emphasis on the agency of law and legislation. The sixth Leaflet published by the Labour Party was one headed "The Conspiracy against Trade Unions." It was there affirmed in so many words that there was one law for the employer and another for the workman. "Look at these comparisons," was its argument. "The employer may lock you out and break up your home, if you and he have a dispute, and *no law protects you*. If you damage your employer's business *he can claim upon your Union funds* and cripple your benefits." The most significant development of present-day Socialism has been this increased emphasis on its legal side.† It has been already pointed out, after Sir Henry Maine, that law makes use of Legal Fictions, Equity and Legislation, in order to adapt itself to the changing conditions of a changing life. The judge gives a new decision in a new case. Exactly such a combination of facts as is presented in this case has never really been met with before. But the decision when given, though really a new decision, is never, by a process of legal fictions, supposed to be

* See this worked out in the analysis of Anatole France's "L'île des Pingouins."

† Cp. besides the well-known works of Anton Menger such books as those of Levy, "L'affirmation d'un droit collectif," and Deslinières, "Projet de Code Socialiste."

essentially new. It is simply the old decision applied to new matter. Even in Equity there is visible the grasp of the dead hand on the living body of the present. Equity was a body of principles brought in to fill up the holes and corners of the Common Law, and to make up for its want of progressive adaptation to more complex social forces and human needs. The Equity of the old Court of Chancery, for example, was made up of a great variety of elements.* The Canon Law contributed to it. The Corpus Juris Civilis was ruthlessly commandeered into its service. Publicists of the Low Countries supplied Chancellors like Lord Talbot with their most authoritative dicta. But whatever be the source from which their principles come, neither Legal Fictions nor Equity reposed on the idea that law is an expression of social forces and conditions, that the new life expresses itself in new laws instead of the old law seeking to crush the new life. Even when legislation comes in with its frank confession of the necessity of progress and change, it does not always succeed in the work it sets before it. Submit a new law to the interpretation of a judge. By the hypothesis of the system in which he has been reared, he cannot assume the new social needs and demands of which that law is the expression. He cannot bring to its interpretation the debates and discussions in the legislature which are the best recorded expression of what may be a great leap forward in the thought and mind of the people. His stock-in-trade is made up of legal decisions or equitable principles which have been evolved and expressed to meet other cases and the demands of a very different time and place. He has to gather the altered within the folds of the unalterable. He has to assume that the universe is not many, but one. He has, in fact, to come to a conclusion

* See Maine, "Ancient Law," p. 44; also "Le problème du droit comparé," by M. Kovalevsky, in "Annales de l'institut international de Sociologie," t. vi., p. 117.

which every day is in more violent discordance with its premises. The inference is easy. The new Social Democracy demands the frank and acknowledged supremacy of legislation in the sense willed by the legislator and in conformity with the needs and demands of a people who are now well on the way to place and power.* Once you admit that reform of society is no fatalistic play of blind and senseless principles, no "unearthly ballot of bloodless categories," but that it needs active human co-operation for the achievement of its higher purposes, you must also go on to concede that one of the most important of these agencies is the method of legislative reform.†

Juristic Socialists—in Continental countries, at least—now abound on every side. In the forefront must be placed now, alas! only the works of the late Prof. Anton Menger. In the French Chambers, M. Jaurés has promised that, so soon as he finds time to work out all its details, he will present a complete Socialist Code for the criticism of his Parliamentary compeers. In most of the leading countries of Europe voluntary associations have been established to chronicle, compare, and codify the various Labour Laws which, in different countries, try to give "justice to all and favour to none." There has now been established an International Labour Office, and from it are issued periodical bulletins, written in German, English, and French. It is wonderful to see how, without any conscious effort,

* M. Brouilhet ("Loc cit," p. 241) has ventured to lay down what are the cardinal principles which will underly the laws of the future. I think, however, that the case is more complex than he appears inclined to admit.

† Mr. J. R. MacDonald ("Socialism and Government," vol. ii., p. 72) makes the interesting suggestion that instead of the present House of Lords there should be a Committee of Law Lords "whose business would be to make the provisions of the Statute Book express as accurately as phraseology would admit what the intention of the House of Commons is." The Law Courts would then have to take account of Parliamentary discussions.

the line of legal advance has all been in the same direction.

But, after all, the new Social Democracy most relies on legislation for translating its demands from the heaven of aspiration to the hard earth of realisation. The history and result of the Parnell Commission showed what folly it was to entrust to a bench of judges questions which could only be decided by the verdict of posterity or by freely elected delegates sent to Parliament to represent the wants and wishes of the people.

The first principle in legislation of the new Social Democracy is a respect for the assembly which legislates. When Marxianism first crossed swords with the Anarchists and its qualification for representation at a Socialist Congress became a belief in independent Labour representation, the men of the old Socialist movement entered Parliament with small respect for the institution of which they were members. They looked on it as an instrument of the ruling classes. They were, like our Irish members, in it but not of it. They could give no support to Budgets. They would take no account of Parliamentary rules. They would use opportunities for debate simply as they would use a platform at a propagandist meeting. And in the earlier days of Parliamentary Socialism they really tried to work up to the spirit of these professions which they had made.

The new Social Democracy is completely altering all this.* You cannot overcome your adversary until you have measured your adversary's strength. You can do nothing in Parliament until you have mastered the trade—even the "tricks in trade"—of your workshop for the future. Syndicalism, in its attack on Parliamentary methods, may mean one of two things. It

* For an able study of Parliamentary obstruction see "*Parlementaire Obstructie*," proefschrift door Adriaan Theodoor Allard Hegligers. Zalt Bommel, 1908.

may mean that Parliamentary methods and tactics, though a great deal, are not everything, and that without a people's movement outside, there can be little that is effectively expected of the Parliamentary movement within. Or it may mean that Parliament is worth nothing at all and that all our M.P.'s may safely be left to "gang their own gait." In the first sense, Syndicalism has had something valuable to say, and the new Social Democrat will profit by the lesson. In the second sense, it exercises a harmful influence on the people's movement, and if its precepts were followed we should head not for the "end of all things," but for the "Iron Heel." The new Social Democracy must study methods of voting. It must be an adept at Parliamentary tactics. It must not assume an attitude of unreasoning opposition. It cannot afford, like Achilles, to sulk in its tent. It sees how the Veto on a House of Peers or the substitution for popular instead of hereditary election for the highest offices of State really clear the way for the more serious organic changes of the future. With the Australian Labour Party, it will never cease to believe that it can do most when it attains "place and power." But whilst it does all this and more also, it must not at the same time perpetuate the mistake of the Calvinists and assume that its members—and they alone—are numbered amongst the family of the "elect."

THE HAND AND THE HEAD.

In the third place, the new Social Democracy is quite losing sight of the supposed autonomy between hand and head labour. Its emergence into the work of practical administration has had nothing to do with this. The Labour Member on the Works or Electricity Committee of a Town or Borough Council, or the organising secretary of a big Trade Union, all alike see that brains are as important as brawn. Indeed, if we work out systematically with the French Socialists the idea of a future Socialistic State, we can see as Dr. Richter did in

his amusing skit on Socialism, that it is on questions of organisation and administration that the success of the future will depend. You can imagine that men and women will be moved like the pawns on your chessboard, and you are not long before you discover that they have not only a "body to be kicked," but a "soul to be saved." You may take all possible precautions against the perils of the old Capitalistic State. Your ex-capitalists may be paid in tokens which can be spent for consumption alone. Wealth, in the sense of that which enables you to command and to control the labour and services of others, may fade far back into the dimmest recesses of human history. But if your pastors and masters decree that your boy shall go to sea and you desire him to remain on terra firma, how are you going to compound between their wishes and yours? Hope, fear, joy, love, hate, defiance, disease, death—how they will diversify the texture of the most equalitarian State of the future! The fact is that every ounce of tea produced and delivered will then have as much—nay, more—of the head in it than the hand. It will represent not simply the labour of men and women in China, Ceylon, and Manchester, but also the abstruse calculations and elaborate adjustive arrangements of the hard-wrought officials who sit with wrinkled brows in some palatial Whitehall of the far-off future.*

In the earlier part of this paper I hazarded the forecast that the new Social Democracy would find that Parliamentary cleverness demanded other qualities of head and heart than could be expressed in "foot-pounds" of hand labour. In France and Germany the Socialists draw their M.P.'s not simply from manual labourers alone. In the Reichstag and in the Chamber of Deputies you find journalists, advocates, secretaries,

* For the sake of simplicity I have supposed in this argument a development to complete Collectivism, but in the last essay of this book it is shown that there are difficulties in the way of this supposition.

and miners sitting side by side and claiming to represent the extreme Left of the Labour movement. More recently there has been an inclination to go in a contrary direction. That is why the question of the relation of the Parliamentary Party to the Trade Unionists has assumed such a leading place both in these countries and in our own. But even this deduction must not be carried too far. The Trade Union secretary, who generally comes in to represent his union in Parliament, has long ago ceased to take his place at forge or factory or down in the deep recesses of the mine. His very presence and the place which he fills shows that the new movement sees the advantage of drawing off its men from hand labour to develop other faculties and capacities of their complex nature.

Trade Unionism is not only closing its meshes but extending its net. Amongst all the head labourers who exert an influence on social life and work, there are none who, behind the scenes, are more really powerful than the journalists. Ten persons read the carefully-turned paragraph of the sub-editor for one who ventures to absorb the speech of the First Minister of the Crown. Pope gives the advice :—

“ Let such teach others who themselves excel,
And censure freely who have written well.”

But the journalist writing against time has to be an Admirable Crichton on all kinds of questions without having the leisure to consider whether or not he is a fit subject for Mr. J. M. Barrie's Home for Geniuses. Journalists haunt every nook and corner of our social system. Journalists have an opportunity of seeing the gingerbread where others can only see the gilt; and it is therefore nothing less than highly significant that they are now formed into a Trade Union on the same lines as the navvy or the gas worker. The old Fourth Estate now forms a part of the new. New and old are making a mutual bow. Is not this an indication of the

increased catholicity and power of the Social Democratic movement? Christianity probably arose in burial societies and sodalia which in their main lines remind us of the modern Trade Union. Is it too much to hope that what are called the "professions" will all have their democratic unions in the near future?

RELIGION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

In the fourth place, it is now certain that the new Social Democracy will no longer take up an antagonistic attitude to religion. "The situation," says Rev. Stewart Headlam, "has changed and is changing. Mr. Bernard Shaw's declaration of his belief that it is only by means of religion that Socialism can be accomplished is as significant on the one side as the declarations made by Bishops and others at the Carlisle Church Congress were on the other. It still, indeed, pays the opposite party at an election to call the Socialist or Labour Candidate an atheist, but such candidates—if they have not the electoral courage to reply, "If I am an atheist, what has that to do with the question or with you"—are easily able to get priest after priest to come to their support."* It is true the situation is hardly so clear in the countries of the Continent. There Christian Socialism is for the most part looked upon as a device of the enemy. Lurid descriptions are written in Socialist papers showing how the workmen are shepherded into the fold and led in closed battalions at the bidding of reactionary priests.† Karl Marx, whose earliest memories were connected with the Rhineland, knew religion only as an authoritative despotism and its priests as the most subtle opponents of everything he held dear. Even now, in the German Socialist *Punch*, "*Der Wahre Jacob*," the priest and the Junker are always found in

* "The Socialist's Church," by Rev. S. Headlam, p. 2.

† See "Katholischer Socialismus" in Austrian journal, *Der Kampf* of November 1st, 1909; p. 66.

close and loving proximity. But the old order is giving place to the new. Sociologists are showing that from the very earliest dawn of human society religion has played a dominating part which the Socialist can ill afford to forget.* Monarchical government, private property, and marriage, have all, among the earlier races, been institutions sustained by the power of superstitious appeal. The old Social Democrat thought he could safely leave all these influences to do their best or worst. Superstition, he thought, was only a dream of the world's youth. Religion to him was the worn-out skin which could safely be cast off when the child becomes a man. In this way the old Social Democrat cut himself away from that conduct which is nine-tenths of life. He repeated again and again his economic saws and watch-words, while he was blind to

"The great world of light, that lies
Behind all human destinies."

He did not adequately estimate the significance of his own time. He saw the living religion around him, not with the eyes of the present, nor with the prescience that anticipates the future, but simply through the spectacles of a far-off past. He imagined that religion might be hastened off the earth simply by being left alone. He was entirely mistaken. The nine last years have shown this beyond the reach of cavil.

There is no need for the new Social Democracy to manufacture a fresh religion all at once. It needs no complicated system of institutions and ritual. It is harnessed to no special dogmas any more than the individual Socialist is committed to the jauntiest forecast of Mr. H. G. Wells. It is not even an annex of the "New Theology." But a good Christian need not now be a bad Socialist. The "black-coated dragoons"—to use John Sterling's phrase—are no longer taboo at

* See "Psyche's Task," by J. G. Fraser, p. 2, *et seq.*

a crowded Labour meeting. There have been warnings, indeed, from the Socialist side, that the Church, if she be in earnest, must emancipate herself from the coils of reactionary interests. The "City of God"—as Mr. Richard Heath has so well shown—has too often gone into Babylonish captivity. A Belgian Socialist newspaper, "*Le Peuple*," in reporting a recent interview with a Socialist priest, Abbé Vral, confesses to admiring his economic enthusiasm, but hints that he may yet find himself in violent conflict with the heads of his Church. Yet the very fact that there are suggestions of reform instead of "Pride's Purge" in the Church shows that the religious instinct is now recognised as a permanent element in human life. If you want to transform society you must begin by appealing to the highest instincts of men and women. You may at first be a prophet crying in the wilderness. You may come straight against many a dark background of institutional or economic tradition. But

"The heart's aye the part aye
That maks us richt or wrang."

The most recent developments of the religious instinct make it more pliant in the hands of the new Social Democracy. Religion is no longer an affair of priests or courtiers or prelates. It is not now an institution flaunting its "mitred front in Courts and Parliaments." It is simply the soul of the body politic. It is a spiritual ether cementing together the units of the State's corporeal mass. It manifests itself in innumerable different forms as its churches become Free Churches and its essence

"Think when the bells do chime,
'Tis angels' music."*

* For recent developments see Bargy, "*La religion dans la société aux Etats Unis*," and Sabatier, "*The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*."

The bond of the new Social Democracy must surely be a spiritual bond. It is impossible to found a stable State on the supremacy of officials. "We want," says Mr. R. J. Campbell, "Collectivism in the place of competition; we want the Kingdom of God. Charity is no remedy for our social ills and their moral outcome; the only remedy is a new organisation on a Christian basis. I do not believe that any form of Collectivism, as a mere system superposed from without, can ever make the world happy. It must be the expression of the spirit of brotherhood working from within." Surely the new Social Democracy can heartily assent to the spirit of these notable words.

POLITICS AND PROGRAMMES.

In the fifth place, it is truer now than it was in 1901 that Socialism can never be confined within the four walls of a cast-iron or unalterable programme. So far as the Trade Unions are concerned, the secretary of their International movement concedes that no such centralisation is possible.* And when, at the International Congress of Amsterdam in 1904, a resolution was proposed by the French delegates which would have made applicable to the Parliamentary circumstances of every country the tactics which had been framed for Germany alone, the motion was indeed carried—but only after a debate and division which showed conclusively that the new Social Democracy would never tolerate an infallible church. How could it ever become possible to reduce to one common measure the tactics of Manchester and St. Petersburg? How can any politician meet the various circumstances of autocratic and constitutional governments by a uniform method of action? To ask these questions is to answer them in the negative. You cannot and never will lay down 39 or any other

*See Legien, "Die Gewerkschaftliche internationale," in *Socialistische Monatshefte*, April 7th, 1910.

number of articles to which the Labour movements of every land will yield unflinching allegiance. Even the different divisions of a single land have their individualities of national life. In a recent number of the *Socialist Review** a Welshman asked the question, in a suggestive article, why English Socialist orators were not so successful in Wales as in their own country. In reply, he alleged two main reasons: first that English speakers generally did not know Welsh; second, that they did not understand the deeply religious instincts of the Welsh people. Analogous reasons might be found to support a similar conclusion in the case of any other nation. The new Social Democracy will be like a great and flowing river fed at every stage of its course by numerous and important tributaries. Germany, France, and Great Britain! How like and yet how unlike in their Social Democratic movements! Germany, with its great army of Trade Unionists and its Parliamentary movement marshalled, organised, and informed as no other Socialist movement in any other part of the world! France, with journalists in Parliament and "King Pataud" outside of it, showing how Democratic Socialism can work side by side with Trade Unions who proclaim the "end of all things"! Great Britain, where the Radicals and the Labour Party unite, and where journalists form a proletarian Union and leaven the middle class rather than deliver them unshriven to the Devil of reaction! Order, variety, harmony—all these are needed in the "Happy Land" of the future; but you cannot get your unity in variety by stamping out every element of independent life.

In the last chapter I hinted that great things might be expected of Russia. The nine years that have since elapsed have thrown a pathetic light on this prophecy. There was a fine spirit among the Reformers of that

* "Socialism and Welsh Nationality," by E. Morgan Humphreys, in *Socialist Review*, October, 1909.

northern land. "You have a wonderful feeling in your heart," says one of the characters in Gorky's "The Mother." "It seems to you that wherever you go, all men are comrades; all burn with one and the same fire; all are merry; all are good. Without words they all understand one another; and no one wants to hinder or insult the other. No one feels the need of it. All live in unison, but each heart sings its own song. And the songs flow like brooks into one stream, swelling into a huge river of bright joys, rolling free and wide down its course. And when you think that this will be—that it cannot help being if we so wish it—then the wonder-struck heart melts with joy. You feel like weeping—you feel so happy." This is the aspiration with which the great souls of Russia began these nine years. What has been the realisation? "The police, the gendarmes, the soldiers, the spies—they are our enemies, and yet they are all such people as we are. Their blood is sucked out of them just as ours is, and they are no more regarded as human beings than we are. That's the way it is. But they have set one part of the people against the other, blinded them with fear, bound them all hand and foot, squeezed them and drained their blood, and used some as clubs against the other. They've turned men into weapons, into sticks and stones, and called it civilisation—government." So it is that Russia now lies bleeding beneath the feet of the oppressor. Her people can still be known by the epithet of Turgenev, "Anonymous Russia." The old Communistic "mir"—on which those who prophesied a new Social Democratic development in Russia founded many of their hopes—has been completely overthrown by recent administrative orders. The "gombeen man" will soon swallow up the resulting small holdings, and then this development of democracy will be a dream of the past. There are immense difficulties in the way of a revolution such as Russia sought to accomplish. We live no longer in the days of the "Ancient Régime." Then

there were neither railways nor telegraphs. Now there are both. In the days of the French Revolution, Paris was the heart and brain of France. Now in Russia the working classes are decentralised in two or three big cities, and St. Petersburg in no sense holds the key to the situation.* At present, the bureaucracy has triumphed; the rest is still hidden in the womb of the future.

* * *

“*Wir heissen euch hoffen*” (We bid you be of hope). There you have the marching orders of the new Social Democracy. The old Socialists were not without their visions. Marx, materialistic as were his premises, looked forward hopefully in his conclusions to the day when the expropriators should be expropriated. But his conclusions were hardly consistent with his premises. He saw visions and dreamt dreams. But his optimism was built up on a dark basis of pessimism. He beheld around him a hateful and spiteful world where everyone—even the noblest—was moved by his pocket interests, and where the “game of grab” called forth the intensest energy and evoked the highest forms of emotion and life. The chasm between classes grew every day wider and deeper. The rich became richer and the poor poorer. The Octopus of Finance crushed its victims with its greedy tentacles. Tennyson’s second *Locksley Hall*—published in 1886—gave classic expression to the dubious fears and forebodings in the years immediately preceding that in which the last chapter was written:—

“There among the glooming alleys, progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street.”

* See “Das Proletariat und die Russische Revolution,” Von A. Tcherewanen. For the United States *cp.* Sombart, “Warum gibt es in den Vereinigten Staaten keinen Socialismus?” and “Théodore Roosevelt et la Constitution Américaine,” in *L’Opinion*, April 23rd, 1910.

In such a hopeless state of affairs there was no use calling for mercy. It never dawned on the old Socialists to speak of justice or appeal to the higher instincts of those who ran the factories or the workshops. By the very hypothesis with which they started the Marxians were bound to hold that economic ideas dominated the horizons of men's hopes and fears, and however much a man might prate of love or justice he followed obediently in practice where his pecuniary interests led him. Society was rent asunder by the war of classes. There was no very exact or penetrating analysis of the different "classes" in society. Apparently the third volume of "Das Kapital" was stopped short just at the point where the analysis would have begun. But in a rough way and operating in the world of politics, the old Socialists saw the interests of land, capital, and the people locked and interlocked in a deadly embrace. At times Marx spoke as if this tragic conflict would continue until it ended in the Great Deliverance. At times he spoke as if the people would send their representatives into Parliament and that then these would come and enable them to finish the fight. At any rate, then political tactics were plain and simple. "Never soil your hands by an unholy alliance of any kind whatever with the enemies of your class." That was the advice constantly given to the Socialist M.P. Marx himself would have interpreted this advice with constant reference to its surroundings in time and space. But the flexible formulæ of the master become rigid and petrified in the hands of the disciples. The greatest philosopher may become a subject of ridicule when his mediating thoughts are pushed by narrower minds to their most extreme consequences.

The clouds are lifting! How different is the outlook to-day! The new Social Democracy has as brilliant dreams as the old. It has surveyed the walls and measured the markets of the coming New Jerusalem. But it does not, like the old Socialism, paint its confident

hopes on a background of the darkest pessimism. Not that it ever conceals the cancer that is gnawing at society. It sees that on every side commercialism is collapsing. It notices, as Sir James Crichton Browne pointed out at Blackpool in 1907, that in districts where there is overcrowding, where there is a superabundance of the lowest type of labour, where infant mortality is greatest, where there is most general pauperism, where signs of bad environment, like phthisis, are most abundant, where pauper lunatics are most numerous, there the wives of reproductive ages have most children. What a grisly prospect! Where there is a little leisure from the game of life, there that luxury is valued and the birth-rate is stationary or declines! Where the game of life is played in sickening earnest, there infants multiply and disease and death spread with increasing rapidity in a degenerated society. The State, like Swift, is "dying at the top." The "economic man" of Ricardo appears to stop at nothing. The reports of the Inspectors of Factories and Workshops show that "time cribbing," "speeding," and "nigger-driving," would soon become common in industrial society if the brake were never applied. Unless something is done society will soon be shooting the rapids of Niagara. On the one hand, the "vulgar rich," too pampered and too selfish to undertake the cares of childhood; on the other, the diseased and deaf and blind, the neglected denizens of the slums, multiplying their progeny and replenishing the land as fast as nature will allow them. "What do you think of it?" asked a London journalist of a Canadian editor on the occasion of the recent visit of the Colonial pressmen to this country. "It's hell," answered the Canadian. We can quite well understand the experience that prompted the reply.

At first sight the state of affairs looks even worse than it did in the days of Marx. But that is to forget all that we have learnt since then. The new Social Democracy sees no cause for hopeless pessimism. It has no

need to stand with folded hands and wait for the great Catastrophe. How complex is the functioning of the society in which we live! How many systems of apparatus are working for its amelioration! Not one Metchnikoff, but many, in their associated strength, and striving to exclude all pathogenic organisms from the body of society. The workman in the factory, or the labourer in the fields will find that those who do not work with their hands are not all drawn up against him in battle array! From the ranks of the professional classes themselves hundreds of hands are being raised in help. A more adequate sociology enables us to take a wider view of the motives that prompt humanity. The new Social Democracy keeps its face to this rising sun. Its development of history is not conditioned by economic motives only, and it does not feel that the middle, and even the upper classes, are beyond the pale of possible salvation. The medical man becomes a new Social Democrat because he sees that a thorough cure of disease will go down to the social conditions out of which it takes its rise. The schoolmaster helps in the "New Crusade," because he cannot teach as he might to underfed or misdeveloped children. The journalist joins the increasing ranks of the Trade Unionists because he admits that the evils that afflict the engineer are creeping into his own profession as well. And the clergyman sees the New Jerusalem coming from heaven to earth, because he knows his religion cannot flourish while "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

Militarism must come to the end of its reign—whether it take the form of the "war of nations" or the "war of classes." There will never be an end of rivalry and competition, but it will be rivalry and competition in brotherhood and charity. The "struggle for existence" will then no longer be an intestine strife, where the triumph of one means the ruin of his neighbour, but a higher struggle where the triumph of one will mean the happiness of all. Many years ago, in the

fiercer spirit of the old days, Francis Adams shouted out the bitter battle cry :—

“Fill up the ranks ! what shimmers there so bright ?
The bayonets of the Army of the Night.”

To-day the appeal is made in a different key. Instead of the Army of the Night it is the Army of the Day; instead of bayonets and bloodshed, there is justice and judgment; and instead of the rhetoric of hatred and passion there is an appeal so moving and haunting that none can long remain obdurate to its music and its prayers.

V

ANATOLE FRANCE AS A SOCIALIST

THE INFLUENCE OF ART IN THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—YOUNG ARTISTS ON THE SIDE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE—ANATOLE FRANCE JOINS A SOCIALIST SOCIETY—HIS EARLY LIFE—PARIS, AND HOW IT MADE HIM—HIS FIRST ESSAYS AT REBELLION—THE THREE STRATA IN HIS PERSONALITY—INTROSPECTION IN MODERN ART—HATRED OF OPPRESSION, AND LOVE OF THE PEOPLE, THE LEADING MOTIVES OF HIS LIFE—VERIFICATION OF THIS IN "ABEILLE," "CRANQUEBILLE," AND OTHER OF HIS WORKS—HIS APPEARANCE AS A SOCIALIST IN THE "CONTEMPORARY HISTORY" OF M. BERGERET—THE SOCIALISM OF THE "WHITE STONE"—THE SYNDICALISM OF THE "ISLE OF PENGUINS"—CONCLUSION.

The new Social Democracy is a child of many prayers. It is not, as the last chapter has shown, exclusively economic. Law and politics work its will in the higher ranges of social life. A religion "pure and undefiled" gains new disciples by its fervent appeals. But no adequate treatment of the influences which aid it can ignore the present power of art. Art is all-pervasive. The social novel is read "in the great empty silent drawing-room," where "the tapestry figures at their ancient games, vague in the shadow, grew pale with dying grace." It is read in the underground train, as it forces its way through the long and stifling tube. From the day when the savage traced the imagination

of his heart on a reindeer's bone to the day when the "Isle of the Penguins" issued fresh from the press, the artist has tried to impress a "larger life"—sometimes repellant, sometimes heroic and attractive—on the minds and motives of countless generations of men and women.

Art that is only cultivated by a select coterie has missed the highest destinies of art. Better far, as Lowell sung—

"It is to speak
One simple word, which now and then,
Shall waken their free nature in the weak
And friendless sons of men."

than to write a hundred volumes of artificial verse like the "Yseult la Blonde" of Anatole France's volume "The Red Lily." And it is surely not without significance for the future power and influence of the new Social Democracy that the greatest of the world's young writers are on its side and in its service. Art has become sociological.* You are startled by the cry of the hungry in the fairest of its Utopias. Edward Carpenter insists on the most exclusive votary of Apollo following him into

"A little stinking shop, hardly seven feet square."

Wagner, in music; Millet, in painting; Meunier, in sculpture; Turgenev, Tolstoy, Hugo, Zola, Whitman, Ibsen, Carlyle, and Ruskin, in literature, have preached its gospel of unrest. To-day a novel by Gorky or Andrieff, or Jack London, a romance of Mr. H. G. Wells, a poem by Ada Negri, a play by G. Bernard Shaw or Octave Mirbeau, a phantasy by Pierre Loti—all of them are events for the new Social Democracy. It would be impossible in a single chapter to do justice to the general subject of "Art and the new Social

* See Guyau, "L'Art au point de vue Sociologique," p. 119, and Max Nordau, "La Funzione Sociale dell'Arte," p. 30.

Democracy." Let it suffice to analyse more carefully a single artistic influence—that of Anatole France—whose conversion to the cause of Socialism must be regarded as one of the most wonderful testimonies to the spirit of the time.

There is an air of Olympian solitude about most of the work of Anatole France. The greatest of French contemporary writers, it was only after many years of effort that he came to his own. He is in 1910 almost 66 years of age, but until 1892—eighteen years ago—he showed no certain promise of occupying a conspicuous niche in the Temple of Fame. His soul was "like a star and dwelt apart." His lucid style—entirely unmarked by declamation or emphasis—and his satire that pierced without striking, showed little trace of being deeply troubled by the world's sin and sorrows. He was a twentieth century Boccaccio, who had donned the mantle of Saint Beuve and Renan. Men were the subjects of his tales, rather than the objects of his affections. And when the French public gradually realised that this aristocratic writer, who seemed to have too keen an eye for human frailties to be stirred by human enthusiasms, had left his "Palace of Art" to fight side by side with M. Jaurés on a Socialist platform there were not wanting those who rubbed their eyes and wondered whether topsy-turvydom had arrived at last.

There was abundant justification for such a feeling. Anatole France stood revealed by his works as despising everything that was common or vulgar. He was a Greek in his hatred of the tumultuous and the disorderly. He read no English or German. He liked choice china, curious bindings, and men and women whose garments were perfumed by the scents of Araby. Reviewers burst into rhapsodies over his fastidious refinement, and the artistic beauty of his home. "It is tasteful," says M. Adolphe Brisson, "subdued, and elegantly furnished. As soon as you cross the threshold, you are struck with its grace and refinement. Even

the knocker is no common piece of metal. It is a man's hand fashioned out of old Florentine bronze. Enter the hall and you imagine yourself in a museum. Pictures, statues, fragments of marble warmed by an attic sun, ancient prints on the walls, and eighteenth century wood curiously carved and coloured." All this suggests the friend of artists rather than the friend of artizans, the man who intones *odi profanum vulgum* rather than the man who rubs shoulders with agitators, and fights at their side in the thick and the stress of the battle. So obvious is the discrepancy, that some writers evade the riddle of this great writer's life by splitting it up into two incongruous portions. "There are two Frances," says the Danish critic, Geo. Brandes, in a monograph which has lately been published.

Such a conclusion, however, is a counsel of despair. Every human life is an unbroken flow of purposes and feelings, however many different "streams of tendency" there are to join the main river. In our own country, at least, we are not unfamiliar with the fact that an exquisite artist may also be a most unwearied agitator. All great literature springs from the heart of the people. Homer was only the "blind singer of Kyme." Music and drama are simply the reflection of the village dance. But the reflection is not the substance, and art, which at first was the direct expression of the people's joys and sorrows,* was afterwards pursued by those who dwelt in cloistered seclusion, and had leisure to develop the "tricks of the trade." Anatole France, at any rate, seemed a literary man who, by constitution and sympathies, would never stray far from the shadow of his library shelves. He had been born in a bookshop. Like Beaconsfield, he had been suckled amid the talk of book-worms. He had constructed for himself a world which

* See the Sumerian songs quoted by Professor Sayce ("Babylonians and Assyrians," p. 87), and the "Song of the Well," preserved from earliest Hebrew experience in Numbers xxi., 17, 18.

was other than the world in which his fellows lived and moved—a world where “sceptred spirits” spoke to him from dead volumes, and when to open his study door was to find himself face to face with innumerable problems propounded in a babble of sometimes discordant voices. In one of his partly autobiographical volumes he has himself told of the struggle it cost him to rouse himself from reverie to action, to leave the storied past, and play a man’s part amid the dust and turmoil of the present. It was with a heart full to overflowing that, looking back on these early struggles, he said in later years: “Believe me, me who loves them, me who has given myself to them without reserve all these long years, it is books that kill us.”

From the first, however, there were influences which made it likely that the exquisite sensibilities of Anatole France might help to make an agitator of the artist. Unlike most of the other great figures of his time and country, he was born in Paris itself. Every morning his young eyes gazed at the Louvre or the Tuileries. Every day his young limbs were stretched in a walk by the “glorious Seine.” He had made such a close acquaintance with revolution that he could talk of crowned heads with the same condescending familiarity with which Christopher Marlowe deals with the “pampered jades of Asia.” In the streets by the river he had come into the most intimate contact with the life of simple folk. While yet a mere boy he turned from his books of devotion to imitate St. Simeon Stylites in real life, and was as reproachful as Tolstoy when he learnt, by rough experience, that his father was going to repay him with a whipping for his pains. When 20 years of age he contributed some verse, entitled “*Les Légions de Varus*,” to a little magazine called the *Gazette Rimée*, and there, under the guise of an indignant address by the Roman Fatherland to Augustus—

“Give back to me my sons! Cæsar! thou crowned assassin!”

he was really giving expression to his hatred of a modern Cæsarism as embodied in the rule of Napoleon Le Petit. The number of the *Gazette Rimée* in which his verses appeared was the last of its race. The magazine was at once suppressed. The barbed arrow had struck home to the heart of authority. The young writer had enrolled himself in the "glorious army" of rebels.

It is in following out the history of this untameable element in his mind, and combining it with the love for simple folk, which he learnt by the banks of the Seine, that we are to seek for the cause of the later Socialism of Anatole France. He was never a Socialist in the sense that he had meditated much on the basis of modern Collectivism. He did not, like William Morris, "find salvation" in the study of "Das Kapital." In a later work, "Sur la Pierre Blanche," one of his characters, Hippolyte Dufresne, enters through the ivory gates of dreamland, to behold a federation of the nations in an imaginary world of the future. But the vision hardly shows that he takes much interest in a Collectivist State for its own sake. His device of the dream carries us back to Bunyan. The furniture and scenery of the Utopia recall the romances of Morris and H. G. Wells. Only now and then we have a glimpse of the real France: as when he tells us that his supermen "have no time to study law or theology"; or when he hears of "Pius XXV., dyer, via dell' orso, Rome"; or when he proposes that the poetry of the future should be confined to the expression of sweet nothings in curiously complex verse. To judge from the references to this country in the same work, France might have acted quite differently had his lot been cast across the channel. But it is now time to again resume the threads of the great writer's life.

Anatole France continued to muse on rebellion. In 1874 he was employed as a subordinate on the staff of the French Senate Library, but he soon chafed under the yoke and was compelled to resign. In "Le Crime de

Sylvestre Bonnard," an early novel crowned by the French Academy, he makes one of the characters carry a little ornamental cane with the heads of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza carved on its handle. Don Quixote seems to say: "Think deeply of serious things, and know that thought is the only reality in the world. Lift nature up to your own height, and let the whole world be but for you the reflection of your own heroic spirit. Fight for honour, as this alone is worthy of a man; and if you are wounded, spill your blood like generous dew and smile." Sancho Panza, on the contrary, says: "Remain what heaven made you, brother. Prefer the crust of bread drying in your wallet to the ortolans that are roasting in the duke's kitchen. Obey your master, whether he be wise or foolish, and do not load your brain with too many useless facts. Fear blows; 'tis tempting God to seek danger." These were the two voices that often made themselves heard in the soul of Anatole France. The last bade him keep close to his books, polish the scabbard of his keen and piercing wit, leave partisans to their resounding platitudes, and turn a deaf ear ever to the echoes of the fight. The other bade him leave his books, unsheath his keen Damascus blade, take his place beside men like Zola, whom he had formerly despised, and fight forlorn hopes with no regard for fee or fine. In most lives there is an exaggeration either of the active or the contemplative. Few both think and do. But France's Angevin blood—his father came from Anjou—enabled him to blend reverie and action, and from the days of the Dreyfus agitation, he felt he must throw in his lot with the most thorough-going reformers in the France of to-day, according to his opinion, the Socialist parties of Jaurés and Pressensé.

In the mind of Anatole France there are three different strata of personality. There is the France of "Thais" and "Le Lys Rouge"; the France of "Les Opinions de Jérôme Coignard" and "L'Histoire

Comique"; and the France who wrote the four volumes of "L'Histoire Contemporaine." Many would say that there is still a fourth France, the savant and book-worm who has drawn the fire of Mr. Andrew Lang by his bulky volumes on Jeanne d'Arc. At any rate, the first three are sufficient to show us how difficult it is to gather together in a single formula the factors of his complex personality. The first France almost believes in "art for art's sake." The second France looks on the scheme of things as a sorry jest. Only the third France appears to go out into the open and stake everything on a single throw of the dice. But this is only the delusive appearance of difference within a one and undivided personality. It is the same France who addressed us as "Thaïs" and "Jérôme Coignard," and as Dreyfusard, M. Bergeret. Not that from the point of view of pure art the productions of one epoch of his life are equal to the productions of the other. Introspection is the disease of the times. Geo. Meredith, himself a victim of the malady, cries out with pathetic yearning in one of his poems that he cannot now hear—

"That wild note,
Of truthful in a tuneful throat."

Many great artists have been so anxious to be truthful that they have too often forgotten to be tuneful. After all there is some excuse for those who can only hear in Walt Whitman the sound of a "barbaric yawp." Maurice Maeterlinck writes dramas, but he must needs explain in prose essays how the new drama differs from the old. There are passages in the annals of the Rougon-Macquart family that rise to the higher heights of imaginative art, but somehow throughout the whole tale of joys and sorrows you hear the creaking of psychological wheels. Anatole France in this respect is a child of his time—no more and no less. It was not because he had joined the Socialist Party in the

meantime that his tale of "Gallion" in "Sur La Pierre Blanche" has a very different atmosphere from that of "Thaïs." The one is later than the other. Anatole France had begun to concern himself more deeply with the riddle of the painful earth. He could take nothing for granted. In "Thaïs" there is an imaginative exultation which reminds us of "Suspiria de Profundis"; but in "Gallion" he must needs add a lengthy postscript of comment to show why this or that trait in his purely artistic presentiment is true to the thought or life of antiquity.

In all this there is nothing to wonder at. The world is getting older. It is more than a century ago since Kant warned us that we were entering on an age of Criticism. Since then, the criticism has come on like a flood. Habits of life, attitudes of thoughts that contented our forefathers have no charm for their successors. Tolstoy's searching question, "What is art?" represents the recoil of a wearied and analytic mind from the overwrought art of a leisured class to the simple tale or haunting melody that alone reaches the people's heart.

Anatole France knew better than most that the life of our noontide is not the free wild life of our prime. In one of his poems, "La Lumière," he thus expresses himself—

" Et lorsque dans mon sein la nature des choses
Formera mes destins futurs,
Reviens baigner, reviens nourris de tes flots purs
Mes nouvelles métamorphoses."

Sometimes he reproaches nature with the bad arrangement of her own special metamorphosis. It is no credit to the scheme of things that youth comes first in our life, and that our last years are passed "in the sere and yellow leaf." For other is it in other scales of being where there is first the caterpillar, next the chrysalis, and then the airy, fairy butterfly as the crown and flower of it all. But though France was painfully conscious of

metamorphosis in his life, he would never have admitted that it could be divided into two incongruous portions. Even when he seemed to be only a dweller in "fairy lands forlorn," he was thinking of the Rights of Labour. Take, for example, his fascinating little tale "Abeille." Here we have a narrative as naïf as that of the mediæval *jongleur* or Troubadour where dukes and princesses recall the old knight errantry and the world is white with May. But Anatole France cannot content himself with the mimic zest and shock of ancient quest and tournament. He hears a confused and sometimes sad and bitter cry which was hushed into dead silence in the days of the mediæval story-teller. In "Abeille" he introduces a race of beings called the Nains, who live underground like the Morlocks of the Time Machine, and who do the world's work while dukes and princesses live the irresponsible life of the old romance. The Nains have no books. They have broken with the leisured literature of the past. But they work with their hands and they see with their eyes, and France gives such a sympathetic presentation of them that we cannot help feeling that his Socialism came to him not as an economic theory but as the most complete modern presentation of the "still, sad music of humanity."

It has been seen that there are three strata of artistic personality in the life of Anatole France, but all through the three there runs this rich vein of hatred of oppression and love of the people. It is heard even in the marble halls of Alexandria. "Go away," cries Thaïs to the philosopher Nicias; "go away! I hate you! I hate and despise all the happy and the rich! . . . All women envy my destiny, and I sometimes envy the lot of the old toothless woman who, when I was little, sold honeycomb at the city gate. The idea has come to me many times that only the poor are good, happy, and blessed, and that there is a great solace in lonely and humble life." Or take this in Thaïs for a reply to the Nationalists and Chauvinists of the anti-Dreyfus

agitation : " What is the Fatherland ? A flowing river. Its banks change, and waves are always upon it." The same order of thoughts startles us even more profoundly while that easy Epicurean, the Abbé Coignard, moves in a land where the women have forgotten to be good and the men have outlived all their enthusiasms. Imperialists might cry out for war in the interests of the empire. " We have improved on the cruelty of the brute beasts," replies with cutting gaiety the genial Abbé; " they never do any mischief without some definite reason." Or the talk is of law and order. " The most cruel insult that men have ever offered to our Lord and Saviour is to put His image in the judgment halls where the judges absolve the Pharisees and condemn that Magdalen whom He raised with His own divine hands." Or the lords of the earth head a crusade on behalf of their divine right to do what they like with their land. " The trouble is that men have no natural possessions, and that the so-called equity of law does nothing more than confirm them in the enjoyment of hereditary or individual robberies."

The man who could write in this way was bound to be thorough. He could never stand hesitating on the Rubicon's brink. When the cast of his mind forced him to develop from the student to the stump orator he was destined to join the party in France which was freest of entanglements and could speak its mind most frankly on the affairs of the day. He never felt quite at ease in the theory of Collectivism. As has already been pointed out, the bureaucratic state of " *Sur La Pierre Blanche* " appears very far from the spontaneous expression of his rational life. But in " *M. Bergeret a Paris*," the last volume of " *L'Histoire Contemporaine*," and especially in " *L'Ile des Pingouins* "—the most characteristic work of his later career—we have comments and characters which show us France at his very best. Just before he became a conspicuous figure at Socialist meetings, he had been elected to a seat

among the Immortals of the French Academy. In most cases this endorsement by his peers seals the respectability of the man and the writer, but Anatole France only found in it a pretext for a deeper plunge into the Stynx. The untameable impulses of his mind woke into fresh activity. His hatred of tyranny and oppression burnt with a clear and unquenchable flame. Inside the study he could write learned and fascinating essays bristling with every kind of literary allusion, and now and then transfixing an opponent with a glittering shaft of wit. Outside the study he delivered telling appeals to working class meetings on behalf of a reign of reason and of a league of peace. Persecuted peoples found in him their dearest friend. If sometimes in the exquisite selectness of his allusions he soared a little over the heads of his audiences, he was always heard with attention and respect. His books were filled with telling epigrams, which showed how deeply he felt that a voice needed to be raised on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. "The law," he said with that inimitable wit of his, "in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." He gave almost perfect expression to his wounded feelings in the touching little tale of 'Cranquebille.' Cranquebille was a decent old coster who was waiting in a busy thoroughfare for the payment of some leeks which he had sold. A policeman ordered him to move on. The old man lingered for his money. The policeman got annoyed and took him into custody on the charge of having uttered some insulting words which had certainly never passed his lips. He was brought up before the magistrate. He was helpless in the hands of limbs of the law. Despite the confirmation of a distinguished doctor who came to help him out of his trouble, nobody believed him. He was sent to prison; he was released only to find that his customers had deserted him for another hawker. Everybody seemed to have turned against him. At the great

world's banquet he could find no place. Dull despair laid hold of his mind. He hardly knew what he did or said. As a last resort he really did shout the old insulting words to a policeman in the hope that he would be locked up for the night. The policeman, leaning against a lamppost in pouring rain, took not the slightest notice of the insult. Cranquebille was even beneath the world's resentment. Baffled and outraged, the story leaves him in the depths of poverty and despair. It is a painful tale—a classic of that modern art which tells the story of the poor. Never did rebel speak in more touching tones. "Cranquebille" as a work of art may be compared with some of those pathetic poems in which Ada Negri, the Italian poetess, has released the sorrows of her soul.

Even when Anatole France began to speak with Jaurés at the Trocadéro he was in no hurry to lay down a theory of Collectivism. In the last volume of "*L'Histoire Contemporaine*" he brings M. Bergeret to Paris, and in one passage of the book he does point out that there is common property in air, sunshine, museums, and libraries—the most indispensable things of life. But this is very far from showing an interest in the ambitious schemes of State ownership which find vogue in the minds of many modern Socialists. In general he is destructive rather than constructive. He quietly stabs with his satire rather than patiently builds with his trowel. He heard the people crying, "Down with the Jews!" outside the windows of his study, and his retort was characteristic. He coolly reckoned up the number of the Jews in France. He asked the anti-Dreyfusards whether they were as careful to empty the vials of their wrath on the rich Israelites as they certainly were on those who were helpless and poor. Then, so calm and cool that there almost seems a smile on his face, he confounds his adversaries with one perfect phrase, "My heart is not big enough to hold so many hates. Old Cadmus was a Semite, and I find it

impossible to be the enemy of old Cadmus." In "*L'Ile des Pinguoins*" he describes in slightly veiled language all the scandals of modern France, Nationalist agitations, Royalist plots, corrupt Parliamentary government, the trial of Zola, the Panama revelations, and, with restrained and mordant description, he contrives to leave the reader convinced that a complete cleansing of the Augean stables is needed in order to renovate the world. As has already been pointed out, he did not join the Socialist Party of France because, like William Morris, he had read Marx, or, like Jaurés, he had worked out a philosophical Socialism of his own, but simply because he thought that Jaurés and his friends were the most thoroughgoing opponents in France of those very evils against which he had directed the keenest shafts of his wit.

Anatole France has no illusions. He does not believe that the people are either hungering or thirsting for the joys of Utopia. "Scientific truths," he adds in "*L'Anneau d'Améthyste*," "have no affinities for the crowd. The people live on myths. They draw from fables all that they need for existence. They do not need much; and a few ordinary falsehoods are enough to give a grace to millions of lives." Some reactionists find in this fact a reason for this belief in progress. You must keep the populace in leading strings. You must harness them to the chariots of knowing bureaucrats. Anatole France will do neither. You can never set bounds to the future. You can never tell what a day may bring forth. In "*Sur la Pierre Blanche*," Gallio, the brother of Seneca, discusses with his friends the events that may soon be expected. He assumes that the "pax Romana" extends to all the peoples who will count for anything in the world's history. He imagines that by laying down the lines of policy of the "empire" city he is overlooking every eddy in the future course of the world's history. But Gallio, versed as he was in all the learning of his time, had been blind to the

consequences of two sets of facts. Paul had appeared before his judgment seat and had been dismissed as an uninteresting fanatic—nothing more. Nations were growing up beyond the bounds of the “*pax Romana*,” and Theodoric would yet find his way to the palace of the Cæsars.

No “mere man” has plumbed the depths of the future. But Anatole France is not satisfied with sitting down and saying nothing.

If there is no certain hope, he points out, there is no clear need for despair. New ideas can only slowly and painfully assume their practical shapes in legislation and law. A few unknown events may quite easily change the destinies of the world. Man is not final. There will be still more frequent throws of the dice; races will be blended in more intricate combinations; the black and yellow peoples will demand a seat at the table of humanity; even the Pope of the future will have to work with his hands. Surely in all these prophecies France is preparing a way for—shall we say?—the super-man!

Civilisation has not simply to face unknown forces in the world without. It has its enemies within. And here Anatole France, in the closing chapter of “*L’Île des Pingouins*,” tries to deal with the pretensions of the French Syndicalists to transform the world by a sudden conflagration. He foretells a change for the worse in the industrial evolution. The air in the cities is clouded with smoke; houses have to be let both night and day; great trusts dominate the State and choose only workmen without minds of their own; the masters lose all taste for culture and patronise social and religious quacks; the workmen get more ignorant every year; a subtle chemist sets fire to buildings with a new explosive and calls on the workmen to begin the general strike. He gets little response. The terror continues. At length the proletariat is frightened into action. Civilisation is overthrown; man goes back to pastoral

simplicity. But what is the result? There is an invasion of barbarians, and the world is worse than before. Here is how "L'Ile des Pingouins" ends: "The city grew richer than ever. Its empire extended from land to land. Nobody had ever seen higher houses. Incessantly they piled them one above the other—from thirty to forty storeys high—offices, shops, counting houses, and the rooms of limited companies. Still deeper did their trenches and tubes sink into the earth. Fifteen millions of men worked in that colossal city."

It seems the conclusion of despair! Is there no hope for the future? Must humanity, like Sisyphus, roll a stone eternally up the hill, only to find it hurtling down again on the people's heads? Anatole France does not really think so. The passage quoted above is only his own characteristic way of rousing and sharpening our minds. In addresses and allocutions at the opening of working men's institutes and libraries he has continually preached a faith in the future. Reason will yet prevail. The "long view" will win its triumph at last. "The dreams of philosophers have in every age stirred up men of action, who have worked to translate the dreams into deeds. Our thoughts mark a way for the future. Statesmen set themselves to build after the plans that thinkers leave behind them. No, my child, I am not building a Utopia. . . . Every society whose organs do not correspond to the functions for which they were created and whose members are not nourished in proportion to the demands made upon them must die. How are we to change the world? By the word, my child. Strong reason and exalted thoughts forge links in the chain which no earthly force can sever. Like the sling of David, they abase the proud and lay the powerful low."

But still the pessimist might persist. He may recall that reason is the privilege of the few. He may point out that prejudice is the passion of the many. Nothing,

however, can daunt the action of Anatole France. "We live," he replies, "in the expectation of what To-morrow, King of Fairyland, will bring in his mantle of black or blue embroidered with flowers, with stars, and with tears ! Oh, bright King To-morrow !"

VI

PROUDHON AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

THE EMERGENCE OF THE FOURTH ESTATE—ITS FIRST
ESSAYS IN POLITICS—THE LONDON TRADES
COUNCIL IN 1868—THE FRENCH LABOUR CANDI-
DATES IN 1863 AND 1864—HOW THEY WERE
CONNECTED WITH PROUDHON.

PROUDHON—HIS EARLY LIFE—HIS EARLY AND LATE
VIEWS ON PROPERTY—HIS APPEARANCE IN 1848
—HIS BOOK ON “THE POLITICAL CAPACITY OF
THE WORKING CLASSES”—RESULT OF THE FIRST
LABOUR CANDIDATURES—PROUDHON’S POSITION
IN LABOUR POLITICS—HIS RELATION TO MARXIAN
AND THE EARLIER SOCIALISM.

Marxian Socialism derived much of its persuasive power from the fact that it stood up for the helpless and the poor. Tyranny and oppression found in it a fierce and untiring foe. For untold ages of civilised history the people have been oppressed :—

“Many faint with toil,
That few may know the cares and woe of sloth.”

Triumphant Socialism was going to change all this. It was to weld the world into one great Confraternity. It would cause conflicts to cease by uniting the world’s workers in one sustained “war against war.” It must make the artisan in every land realise that his interests lay far beyond the boundaries of his own particular nation. “Proletarians!” so ran the Communist manifesto of

Marx, "you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win."

The new Social Democracy professes an equal regard for the people. No Utopia can appear worth seeking which makes pariahs of the Fourth Estate. As I have shown in the last chapter, the chief characteristic of the artistic work of Anatole France is his sympathy for

"The brave, the unhappily starved, the abandoned."

Art is breaking down social barriers by telling "tales of mean streets." Christianity is realising the days of its youthful prime by making its preachers the leaders in the people's battle.

But the most remarkable feature of the last fifty years of the nineteenth century was that movement whose beginnings I connect in this chapter with Proudhon—the entrance of the Fourth Estate into politics. Politics, as I am never tired of reiterating, is a highly specialised manifestation of the civilised society. It does not summon masters and men to the final Armageddon of a great "class war." It offers some hope that the society of the future, by the concurrence of all classes, will evolve forms of combined activity which will do justice to every "sort and condition" of men and women.

It was in 1868 that George Odger, the secretary of the London Trades Council, made his first attempt to get into Parliament as a Labour Member. The Trade Unions of this country were then under the leadership of those men whom the distinguished historians of the movement have called "the Junta."* They had experienced the hopeless bitterness of economic strife. They knew that the law unjustly discriminated against them. From neither bar nor bayonet alone or combined did they expect very much future good for their cause. Therefore they would turn to politics. They

* "History of Trade Unionism," by S. and B. Webb, p. 220.

would use the power of the ballot box to send their chosen champions to Parliament.

A Labour Representation League was formed, and at the General Election of 1874 thirteen Labour candidates went to the poll. Two of these—Messrs. Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt—were successfully returned.

In France, however, the Fourth Estate was earlier at work. As I shall show at length in the course of this chapter it was in 1863 and 1864—the days of the Second Empire—that the first idea rose in the sister land of working men candidatures for Parliament. They did not then succeed, and later on there came the cruel massacre of the Commune. But the power of Labour in politics was never afterwards forgotten, and for that strong initial impulse we are indebted to the suggestive and frequently misunderstood thinker whose name stands at the head of this chapter.

More than one hundred years ago—on January 15th, 1809—Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born in the ancient town of Besançon, on the Swiss frontier, near Neuchatel and the mountains of the Jura. The town in which he saw the light is a small one, but it was already noted in the history of French Socialism as the birthplace of Fourier. Proudhon had neither high descent nor great opportunities. Unlike Fourier, he had no hereditary fortune to give him a start in life. His father was but a brewer's cooper and his mother had handled pots and pans in the houses of the great. While a boy he herded cows, and when he went to college he was so poor that he had to borrow books. "Ah, well!" he reflected in his correspondence of later days, "I am poor, the son of a poor man, and according to all appearance I shall die as poor as I was born."

In January of 1909 centenary celebrations were held in different parts of France, and there were unmistakable signs that Proudhon is exercising a steadily increasing influence on the development of Socialist thought

and Labour politics. He was more intensely national than Marx, more accommodating in his thought, more observant of the peccadilloes and prejudices of the country that gave him birth. When the International Society of Working Men was founded in St. Martin's Hall on September 28th, 1864, Marx compiled the statutes and wrote the inaugural address; but Proudhon supplied the impulses and dictated the policy which, until the Conference at Brussels in 1867, united the representatives of the Fourth Estate in Europe under the same flag. After the eventful meeting at Brussels his doctrines were supplanted by those of Marx. He was less systematic, less learned, and he lacked the supreme organising power of his great rival; but those parts of his work which Marx most bitterly attacked are just those which are well-nigh forgotten; while the rich seed-pods of ideas scattered abroad in some of his posthumous works have now taken root and brought forth fruit among the proletariat of France.

Proudhon's first important work, "What is Property?" was written in the 'forties, but his later and more important works were written in the 'sixties, when the second half of the century had already developed its characteristic tone and temper. "What is Property?" called by Karl Marx his finest effort, was assailed on its appearance by cries of the wildest opprobrium; it was looked upon as revolutionary, unscrupulous, the product of unlicensed and iconoclastic zeal. Nowadays it is difficult to understand either the opposition or the reprobation which its appearance excited. Any Radical politician—a member of the Society for the Taxation of Land Values—might sign his name to the great majority of the propositions which Proudhon ultimately laid down. Proudhon was no Collectivist. He contemplated with dismay any large extension of the powers of a bureaucratic State. He was all for liberty—liberty to breathe, liberty to think, liberty to dig and delve. When he startled the people with his watchword,

"Property is robbery," he did not mean it to apply to every kind of property, or property held on any imaginable mode of tenure. He distinguished between property and possession—between land owned by the groundlord which he never uses himself and land held by the small holder into which he has copiously put the labour of his hands and his brain.* The latter is possession, and only the former property; and it was on the former that Proudhon lavished his most bitter and incisive phrases.

The phrases stuck while the philosophy that explained them was forgotten; and Proudhon gained a contemporary reputation as an unpractised revolutionary who involved every kind of property in immediate and unwarranted ruin. Lord Normanby, the British Ambassador at Paris, in the eventful year 1848, tells us in scornful tones that in the month of August of that year this hateful demagogue rose up in Parliament to make a three-and-a-half hours' speech denouncing property, in the course of which he asked that every landlord, under all reserves, should be made responsible for his refusal to put his property into liquidation. Let me give the rest of the scene in the very words of the strait-laced Ambassador himself. "Many members naturally asked, 'Why under all reserves?' M. Dupin was heard to reply for the speaker, "'Tis plain enough! Your money or your life!' The President requiring the orator to explain his meaning, he added, 'I aver that if there should be a refusal we should ourselves proceed to the liquidation in spite of you.' 'You! who are you, then?' from many voices. From one, 'Do you speak in the name of the guillotine?'

* Cp. "Théorie de la Propriété," p. 15, and "De La Capacité politique des classes ouvrières, p. 136 *et seq.* It was these two books—in which the theory of the earlier work is considerably modified—which influenced most the International working men's movement. Cæsar de Pæpe, who first expounded the theories of Collectivism, found in the disciples of Proudhon his most uncompromising opponents.

‘When I use the words *I* and *you*, I personify *myself* in the people, and *you* in the class *bourgeoise*.’ Shouts of ‘*C’est la guerre sociale! C’est le 23 Juin à la Tribune!*’ Without any discussion the Assembly proceeded to stigmatise the proposition and the doctrines by which it was introduced by an ‘*ordre du jour motivé*,’ and by a majority of 691 to 2 the following was voted: ‘The National Assembly, considering that the proposition of Citizen Proudhon is an odious attempt on the principles of public morality, that it attacks property, encourages fraud and appeals to the most odious passions, considering, besides, that the orator has calumniated the Revolution of 1848 in pretending to make it responsible for his theories, passes on at once to the business of the day.’”* It is interesting to add to the extract from the British peer that Louis Blanc on this occasion voted with the majority against the proposition of Citizen Proudhon.

Like all other prophets, Proudhon was manifestly held in little honour in his own country and time; and it was reserved to posterity to give their needful meed of recognition to his posthumous works. He had many contemporary disappointments. His “Banks of the People” shared the same fate as Owen’s well-known experiments in the same direction. They were as much and as helplessly Utopian as any of the projects of Fourier or Etienne Cabet. They were founded on no known or accredited principles of human nature. They needed for their success an *ad hoc* peasant who would require no hostages for his fidelity and who would never refuse to pay back what he had obtained on a somewhat loosely-managed credit account. The moment Proudhon tried to impress his views on actual reality he was brought face to face with the hard facts of an unfeeling and disillusioned world. He was like a voice in the

* “A Year of Revolution,” from a journal kept in Paris in 1848 by the Marquis of Normanby, K.G., vol. ii., p. 128.

wilderness, a reformer born when the times were "out of joint." But "*Mene! Mene! Tekel! Upharsin!*" are not the last words that can be said of the life-work of Proudhon. The critic has only to pass from "The Solution of the Social Problem" to that most suggestive of his posthumous books, "On the Political Capacity of the Working Classes," to feel himself at once in the atmosphere of modernity. Most of the sentences of the latter book might have been written by a member of the Independent Labour Party seeking to justify his alliance with the trade unionists in the British House of Commons. "Labour representation," says Proudhon in an opening address to the working men of Paris and Rouen, "if it were possible that it could come, would be to-day, as in 1848, both from the political and the economic point of view, the official affirmation of Socialism." These are the words of a man who could see some leagues ahead—and subsequent Socialist history has shown how penetrating was his vision.

In 1910, throughout the leading countries in Europe, this question of the relations of Socialism to Labour representation is a leading question of the people's history. In Germany the Trade Union movement is the strongest in the world,* and its relation to the political programme of Socialism has caused keen searching of hearts in recent Socialist congresses. In France the powerful party of the Syndicalists has abjured Parliamentary action, and *L'Humanité*, the Socialist daily, has opened its columns to every section of thought in order to keep, if possible, the more extreme spirits in harness. In Austria Trade Unionist and Socialist work together, and here at home we have the Labour Party

* In the report for 1908 of the International Trade Union Secretary (which only appeared in 1910) Germany no longer occupies this position. In 1908 the British Trade Unions had increased from 2,106,283 to 2,406,742. On the other hand, the German Trade Unions had decreased from 2,446,480 in 1907 to 2,382,401. Britain, therefore, in that year led the way.

at work in the House of Commons. All these significant developments find a worthy starting-point in Proudhon's book "On the Political Capacity of the Working Classes."

Proudhon differed from most of his Socialist predecessors in that he sprang outright from the lower rungs in the ladder of Labour. At 19 he was a working compositor, and perused so curiously the recondite proofs that passed through his hands that very soon he had to deliver himself of an "Essay on General Grammar"—a monument of ill-assorted and ill-digested learning.* Again and again he made desperate attempts to succeed in business like a respectable member of the middle classes. Again and again he signally failed in the attempt. He lived too much among his schemes for the future to be able to amass wealth in the rough-and-tumble competition of the present. At last, yielding to the inevitable, he elected to leave his business schemes and gain a precarious livelihood in Paris as a working journalist. "My budget all told," says he in an interesting and pathetic letter to his friend Ackermann, "allows me about nine pounds to exist for the next six months in Paris. I rage about like a lion. I pity any evilly minded person who falls into my clutches. But as I have no enemies on whom to wreak my vengeance, I sometimes look at the Seine with a sombre eye and I say to myself, 'Flow on for another day yet.'" Sentences like that reveal the heritage of disappointment, poverty, and vexation of spirit which reformers of all ages receive as their daily portion. About the same time, to judge from similarly interesting letters, Karl Marx was simply carrying on from hour to hour in his North St. Pancras home. Proudhon had certainly made a deep plunge into the "unplumbed, salt, estranging

* This epoch in the life of Proudhon can be powerfully illustrated from the experience of a compositor in the recent novel, "The Forewarners," by the Italian author, Giovanni Cena.

sea ”; but the result of this experience of the “ waters of Marah ” was to leave on him the indelible impression that, hard though the fight might be, the working classes had to realise their own destiny by the labour of their own hands and brains.

Not till the latter years of his life did his opportunity come for advocating this view before the proletariat of France. Louis Napoleon was then approaching the end of his extraordinary career. The working classes of France were rising to a consciousness of their own future.* Paris, which before that period had been a town where high and low, rich and poor, had lived in close proximity in its crowded quarters, was now becoming an aristocratic city where the rich lived in their Park Lanes while the poor were crowded together in unwholesome slums. Up to that time the Socialism of the empire had been chiefly represented by the school of the St. Simonians, who had no hold on the common people but gained influential disciples among engineers and bankers. All attempts at industrial combination among the artisans were rudely suppressed. Even societies for self-help had to put sentinels outside their doors to watch against a possible invasion by the authorities. The price of food had risen with the rise of rents, and the working classes were beginning to feel that something effective must be done to put an end to their miseries.

The members of the Imperial family were uneasy. The Emperor loved to play the part of a friend of the people, and Prince Napoleon, his cousin, made it the business of his life to ingratiate the empire with the working classes. A project was set on foot to send two hundred Labour delegates to the International Exhibition of 1862, and between July 19th and October 15th of that year the selected men went over to fraternise with

* For an interesting account of this period see Weill, “ Histoire du mouvement Social en France,” p. 43 *et seq.*

the Trade Unionists of Great Britain.* It is difficult to imagine now what the French Government or Prince Napoleon hoped to gain by this move. They surely never can have thought that they would buy off the opposition of their enemies by the bribe of a cheap excursion. At any rate, their expectations, whatever they may have been, were doomed to a rather unexpected failure. When the working men of France returned and presented their reports they were full of the spirit of discontent. In England the men worked shorter hours and received better pay. In England the Trade Unionists had the liberty to meet and discuss their grievances with their employers. What the French working man wanted was more scope and greater liberty. He was being stifled under the harsh burden of oppressive laws.

The result was soon apparent. In the elections of 1863 in France there was a first attempt at Independent Labour candidates.† Tolain—the ablest of the working men disciples of Proudhon—was the heart and soul of the new movement, and well and worthily did he sustain his rôle. But the attempt completely failed. The nation was not yet ripe for it. Even the Republicans suspected the workman of sympathy with the Cæsarian democracy of Napoleon. The Labour candidates in every contested constituency received only an insignificant minority of votes. The attempt, however, had been made; and it is easy to trace the influence of the spirit thus engendered in the later and stormier days of the Paris Commune.

Proudhon's book "On the Political Capacity of the Working Classes" may be said to be the intellectual

* For the address of welcome delivered by the English to the French working men on that occasion see "Les Congrès Ouvriers en France de 1876 à 1897," par Léon de Seilhac, p. 8.

† See "Les candidatures ouvrières sous le second Empire," par Ivan Tchernoff, in *La Revue Socialiste*, February, 1906, p. 161.

expression of the new movement. It is not one of those few books in history where great thoughts are cast in a perfect mould. It is diffuse, ill-arranged, goes back on its ideas, and is altogether too long for the purposes of propaganda. But one or two leading ideas are made abundantly evident. The revolution in 1789 released the people from their ancient feudal bonds. The revolution of 1848 suggested a wealth of new ideas to this emancipated proletariat. But the people were still without any adequate notion of their rights and duties. Then came the election of 1863, already mentioned, and on February 11th, 1864—Proudhon thinks it a momentous date in the history of Labour—sixty working men of Paris published a manifesto advocating Independent Labour representation.

"They tell us," say these working men with the same journalistic ability which was later shown in the Paris Commune, "that there are to be no classes now; but we of the people have no other property than our own hands. We live under oppressive laws. Education is denied our children. Our wives work long hours in the factories. We want men in Parliament who will listen to our pleas. Therefore we must have our own Labour Members."

In 1864, not long after the issue of this manifesto, further elections were held, and again a number of Labour candidates wooed the constituencies. Not one of them, as before, succeeded in being elected, and eighty working men were induced by the Government to issue a rival manifesto pleading for co-operation with the other classes rather than independent action. Yet although this working class movement failed in its immediate attempt, the Government were seriously alarmed. The laws prohibiting combination were repealed. The Emperor looked abroad for some fresh scheme of foreign adventure which should turn the thoughts of the working classes from industrial betterment to the glory of France. But Proudhon was

determined that the French people should be taught to think seriously of these matters, and he wrote his book to serve as the herald of a brighter day. "The question of Labour candidates," says he, "determined in the negative by the elections of 1863 and 1864, implies as a corollary the question of the political capacity of the working man, or to make use of a more generic term, of the people. The people, who have been accorded a vote by the Revolution of 1848, are they, or are they not, capable of counting in politics? Can they (1) form on current political questions an opinion suitable to their condition, their future, and their interest? (2) can they return on these questions, submitted to direct or indirect arbitration, a reasoned verdict? and (3) can they establish a centre of action representative of these ideas, opinions, and aspirations, and which shall be charged with the duty of executing their designs?"

These were the questions which Proudhon set himself to answer in this remarkable book. He is under no delusion as to the character of the average working man. He hazards no prediction of an immediately impending millennium. He is even pessimistic as to the possibility of gaining electoral triumphs as the French Constitution then stood. It would be impossible to wrest any substantial Parliamentary advantage for the working classes under a centralised administration where all real freedom was a contradiction in terms. But though some of his conclusions have been lately used by the revolutionary Trade Unions of France to justify their anti-Parliamentary policy, it remains true that Proudhon's book is the first and most powerful plea for direct representation of the working classes in Parliament. It was the main inspiration of the men who dictated the policy of the first two conferences of the International. Its influence can be plainly discerned in the memoir submitted by the Parisian members in its first Congress at Geneva in 1866. And now, in these latter days, its prophetic power is being clearly manifested

by the rise and progress of just such Labour parties as Proudhon had tried to defend and establish.

The most characteristic difference between the Socialism of the earlier and later decades of the nineteenth century lies in the foundation and progress of a political movement among the "Fourth Estate." Plato's republic had no place for the Helot. The *Civitas Dei*, the *City of the Sun*, and the *New Atlantis* were reserved for the elect alone. The men and women who gathered to live in "New Harmony," or established the "Oneida Community," were selected souls who fled from the brutal competition of an evil world. St. Simon left disciples who became the hierophants of an earlier Agapemone. Fourier had to harness boys to his wagons when he wanted to allocate the dirty work of his coming Paradise. But on September 28th, 1864, the first meeting of the future International Society of Working Men was held at St. Martin's Hall, and thereupon the people's movement found its most devoted disciples among the people themselves.* Proudhon's address to the workmen of Paris and Rouen was written about a fortnight after the meeting of the International, and can therefore claim to be composed in the atmosphere of that stirring time. It was the voice of a harassed people claiming unrestricted access to the enjoyments and advantages of life. It was the working man of France seeking to exercise the rights of his franchise as a free citizen in a free state. Though addressed primarily to the workmen of Paris and Rouen, it has vindicated his own doctrine that nations have no natural frontiers, and is now exciting an influence from Japan to Peru. The International Society of Working Men is no longer in existence, but it has merged its identity in the wider whole of that International Socialist and Labour Congress which, through the agency of its international

* For this part of the subject cf. Pueck "*Proudhonism dans L'Association internationale des Travailleurs.*"

bureau, admitted the British Labour Party in 1908 to unrestricted membership.

Proudhon's work was influential in many different directions. He is the chief apostle of Independent Labour Representation, yet he never adopted the prohibitive tone of Marx in dealing with any possible combination between the Labour and middle-class parties. He was looked upon in his time as a dangerous revolutionary. Yet he never adopted Collectivism, and spoke scathingly of bureaucratic management of the affairs of the State. Commentators call him an Anarchist, and thus bestow on him a name of dread; yet in his latest "Theory of Property" he makes himself a forerunner of the Juristic Socialists such as Lassalle, Anton Menger, and his own fellow-countryman, M. Jean Jaurés. When the first General Council of the French Socialist organisations was held at Paris on December 3rd, 1899, it was at once seen that Proudhon's Federalism instead of Marx's Collectivism would be its guiding scheme of administration; and though in later years Collectivism has been looked upon by leading Socialists as the only available form of Socialism, it will be shown in the next chapter that, in the final rally, the victory cannot be with the centralised administration. Still, when everything is said and admitted, Proudhon's chief title to fame lies in his having been the first great pioneer of the Labour movement in politics. Some Socialists may hold that Karl Marx was before him. They may quote the haunting refrain of the *Communist Manifesto*: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" But Marx, great though he is, was wedded to a materialistic and fatalistic interpretation of history. The bell of destiny will sound the knell when the clock of destiny has struck the hour, and as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow the expropriators will yet be expropriated. Strictly speaking, in such a theory there is no need of Parliament at all. All that a man can do is to crouch before the consuming fire until the earthquake overwhelms him.

Proudhon was no fatalist. He saw that the future of the working classes lies with the working classes themselves. By their free and unfettered combinations they could make or mar their own future. Like the wandering Jew an oppressed people have only faintly made their voices heard through many weary centuries, and the faith of the future must teach them to be the active agents in the realisation of their own high destinies.

VII

THE COLLAPSE OF COLLECTIVISM

POLITICS AND ITS NEW PROBLEMS FOR THE FOURTH ESTATE—WHAT MUST THE LABOUR STATESMAN WORK FOR?—EVIDENCES OF THE DECAY OF BUREAUCRATIC OR COLLECTIVIST SOCIALISM SHOWN BY RECENT FRENCH HISTORY.

(a) TRADE UNIONS IN FRANCE—THEIR EARLY DIFFICULTIES—THE REVOLUTION HOSTILE TO THE UNIONS—LOUIS NAPOLEON AND HIS NEW LAW OF 1864—THE LAW OF 1884—THE LAW OF 1901—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO, AND ESTIMATE OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR STATE SERVANTS.

(b) THE POSTMEN'S STRIKE OF 1909—HOW THE POSITION OF STATE SERVANTS HAD BECOME CRITICAL—CAUSES OF THE STRIKE OF 1909—ITS SUPPRESSION AND ITS RESULTS—GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW STATE SERVANTS TO JOIN THE RANKS OF ORDINARY TRADE UNIONISTS.

(c) THE STATE VERSUS ITS SERVANTS—SOCIALISM NOT NECESSARILY IDENTIFIED WITH EXTENSION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS—THE MODERN STATE MOSTLY MILITARY IN ITS CHARACTER—IS DIFFICULTY MET BY THE STATE BEING DEMOCRATISED?—SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRATIC REFORMS—BRITAIN AND AUSTRALIA IN THEIR DEALING WITH STATE SERVANTS—IMPOSSIBILITY OF POSTPONING SOCIAL REFORM UNTIL THE STATE IS DEMOCRATISED—THE AUSTRALIAN PRECEDENT—THE NECESSITY OF SOME STATE AUTHORITY—

STATE FUNCTIONS WHICH MAY BE LEFT UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

(d) SOCIALISM AND SOCIETIES—CIVILISATION
A PROTEST AGAINST BUREAUCRACY—THE REIGN OF
PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS AND VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES
HOW IT AFFECTS THE BIOLOGICAL VIEW OF
SOCIETY—THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE.

Many fresh problems at once appeared when the representatives of the Fourth Estate made their entrance into the Parliaments of Europe. The machinery of democratic government is intricate and special. Only a few privileged nations have taken out patents for its manufacture. Many are the methods whereby the will of the masters of a State has been made to prevail. Time does nothing to "stale their infinite variety." The Referendum, Proportional Representation, the Caucus, the obligatory Trade Union levy—all these "methods of Democracy" would require much space to estimate their importance for Sociology.*

Two main questions, however, present themselves on the threshold. In the first place, what kind of a society does the Fourth Estate contemplate for the future? In the second place, how are the representatives of the Fourth Estate going to behave when they become M.P.'s? The answer to the last question will be reserved for the next chapter. But the first deserves some measure of detailed consideration at once.

The new Social Democrat must make a preliminary survey of the ground he intends to travel. For him England is no "weary Titan," blindly groping her way along the unknown path of her destinies! He must see "the land that is very far off." He must put some searching questions as to the effect of his legislation. Are we going to have a State ruled by officials?

* Suggestive works to consult are "Le Gouvernement dans la Démocratie," par E. de Laveleye; and "La Démocratie et l'organisation des partis politiques" par M. Ostragorski.

Are our good gifts to be bestowed like charities by the hands of benevolent despots? What part have Trade Unions to play in the industrial evolution of the future? These questions are asked for the sake of the politician, but they depend for their answer on our appreciation of certain industrial phenomena; and as industrial conditions tend to become the same or similar wherever Commercialism extends its reign, I have found it possible to use the analogies of French development in order ultimately to place a guiding clue in the hands of the British Social Democratic statesman.

TRADE UNIONS IN FRANCE.

France is a country of revolutions. Her transitions are quickly and not always quietly made from precedent to precedent. Even the Government officials and the employees in State offices feel that they are inheritors of old and stormy traditions. And the consequence is that while a question vitally affecting the future of collectivist or bureaucratic Socialism is being peacefully and constitutionally agitated in this country, in France it isolates the Foreign Office from Europe in the midst of a crisis in the Balkans, and gives rise to threats of a general paralysis of industry and the revolutionary General Strike.

There can be no doubt of the importance—for advanced politicians of every school—of the issues involved in the French postal strike of 1909. For some years the Cassandras of political theory have been warning us that the position of Municipal and State employees would become more and more menacing to the State in the industrial organisation of the future. In 1868 even the late Mr. Gladstone looked forward to a time when their pressure would become the plague of Parliament. In 1906 Lord Avebury* put on record "that municipal trading cannot fail to give rise to

* "Municipal and National Trading," p. 174.

awkward labour problems." Governments—if the present tendency of civilisation continues—will more and more take over works which formerly were entrusted to private enterprise. Stout shoulders and brawny arms will be robbed in State liveries; ex-Postmaster Generals, like Lord Stanley, will cry out about "blood-suckers," as they perceive that their strength of resistance is being sapped on every side; labour troubles will loom large on the horizon; and the question will arise whether a State servant can decorously associate with a navvy in a Trade Union meeting at the Trades Council or *bourse du travail*, or paralyse a Government industry by indulging in the luxury of an unexpected strike.

The question is not simply national, but international. In Sweden, within the last few months, the question of the relation of the State to its employees has been raised as the result of a railway strike, and, after much negotiation and controversy a contract has been signed between the two parties which is to regulate wages and prevent strikes for some years to come.* The State is to build cheap houses, and start libraries and reading-rooms for the men like some model employer at a second Bournville; and if any difficulty arises during the continuance of the contract it is to be referred to a Court of Arbitration.† So far, this is satisfactory. It avoids all vexed questions whilst the contract is in operation. But when the contract ceases to be effective, the men

* In the subsequent General Strike this agreement had been used against the State employees. It is difficult to judge what exactly was the effect of this lengthy General Strike on Sweden on the interests of either Capital or Labour. Certainly now that it is over the power of the employers seems as great and as aggressive as ever. In March, 1910, the announcement was made in the King's Speech from the throne of a Bill (a) to limit collective contracts to five years' duration; (b) to forbid strikes or lock-outs during the continuance of the contract; (c) to create a permanent Labour Arbitration Committee. On the subject of General Strikes and the Swedish Strike, see Roland-Holst, "General Streik und Socialdemokratie"; also "Slut pa striden" av Theodor Adelswärd.

† *Le Musée Social*, Mai, 1909, p. 138.

have to work for their own interest, untrammelled, however, as in France, by the refusal of the right to strike. In our own country the question was raised during the discussion of the Post Office vote in the House of Commons on April 27th, 1909. "Why," said Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in the course of the debate, "should we not have boards of conciliation within the Post Office for the wage-earning class of the Post Office and other great civil departments, with an impartial arbitrator, which could meet to discuss these things and advise the Postmaster-General what was right in regard to grievances as to wages, and declare which were well founded and which were illusory and ill founded."* This was partly endorsed and emphasised by Mr. G. Wardle, M.P., on behalf of the British Labour Party in a speech which contrasts strongly with the acrid and stinging comments a few weeks later in the French Chambers on the occasion of a cognate debate. "There would not be the slightest difficulty in giving full civil rights," said Mr. Wardle, "provided the question of hours and wages can be taken at all events to some extent outside the purview of this House." This admission leads us to conclude that the British instinct for compromise has already been successful in finding the best way out of the worst difficulty. A reference, however, to a recent pamphlet published by the Postmen's Federation, shows that all the troublesome stiles have not yet been successfully negotiated even in this country.

Abundant evidence is given in this pamphlet† that so far as borough, city, or county council elections are concerned, all barriers have been removed, and full civil rights have been accorded. When the compiler passes to Parliamentary elections, however, he changes his

* Parliamentary Debates," Official Report, vol. iv., p. 233.

† "The Labour Representation Movement." Memoranda for use of local Secretaries of the Postmen's Federation. Compiled by Alex. Maclaren.

tune, and introduces a whole section of the pamphlet with the headline, "Our demand for Unfettered Citizen Rights." The case of three Salford postmen who were censured for taking part in a meeting of the Independent Labour Party provokes a minatory protest against the "attempt to have postmen shepherded within narrow enclosures of citizenship." Finally, the warning is given that "if each new step in public ownership is to be accompanied by the partial disfranchisement of the rank and file workers, a point is bound to be reached when nominal democracy shades into actual oligarchy."

Not a word in this pamphlet leads us to conclude, however, that the question is near the danger-point in this country; and the representatives of the British postmen only seize the opportunity for a homily on the virtues and benefits of independent Labour Representation. No embargo has evidently been placed on their joining the Labour Party, and they fear no immediate attack on their right to strike, or otherwise to call attention to their grievances in the most forceful way they can. Their combinations have been recognised, and their future for weal or for woe is in their own hands.

Very different has been the course of history in France, and it is because French history enables us to see in bolder relief before a stormier background the real difficulties of this question that I select it for longer and stronger comment. From the very first the central administration in France has jealously watched the combinations of State officials, as indeed it has done in the case of any trade or industrial combination. The right to strike at all was only granted by Louis Napoleon in 1867, and the right to form combinations without being prosecuted by the central power was practically inoperative until the law of 1884.* In France, the State has

* Full information will be found on these and other points in "Essais sur le mouvement ouvrier in France," par Daniel Halevy; and "Histoire du Mouvement Syndical in France (1789-1906)," par Paul Louis.

always been looked upon as "the one thing needful." It could brook no rivals near its throne. It could allow no more than a "fictive personality" to any association which threatened to become an *imperium in imperio*. It withered the infant prospects of an industrial union by refusing to allow it to acquire properties or benefit by legacies. A society was only to be regarded as a collection of individuals, and it should be open at any time for the individuals to withdraw their property and put an end to the society.

This jealous oversight of the central power was apparent even in the days of the French Revolution. In 1790 and 1791 the Constituent Assembly forbade strikes, and in May of the latter year the Fraternal Society of Timber Workers was reprimanded by the Municipality of Paris. A law called the Law Le Chapelier came into force, and until 1884 it remained of fundamental importance to the legal code of France. There was nothing in the Law Le Chapelier of the revolutionary fervour of the days when, according to the English poet it was "bliss to be alive." It put restrictions on the liberty of artisans even when they met together as members of the same profession. If they evaded these restrictions, and held their meeting all the same, it could produce no result; for they were strictly forbidden to pass any resolution which affected their common interest.

Subsequent legislation, until very recent times, was restrictive rather than protective. The Penal Code of 1810 dealt the first blow to any proposal to associate the Labour forces in Trade Unions. Article 291 of that Code declared "that no association of more than twenty persons meeting every day or on certain specified days could meet except with the consent of the Government." This was stringent enough, but on April 10th, 1834, its stringency was increased. The fines inflicted under its provisions were made more prohibitive, and it was enacted that even if the union separated into branches

of less than twenty members the terms of the section should apply to the branches. In 1848 Louis Philippe was dethroned, but the revolution of that memorable year brought little relief to the French Trade Unions. In 1852 the old laws were re-enacted, and the trade societies stood in the same position after as before the deluge.

Strange to say, it was Louis Napoleon who opened a new chapter in the history of the French Labour Laws. Towards the end of his reign in 1864, when the famous International was being brought to birth, and when he and his brother were anxious to pose as the friends of the working classes, his ministers brought in a new law to regulate industrial combinations. It was something of a disappointment when at length it saw the light. Theoretically it allowed the French workmen to strike or form combinations; but as it retained all the old laws which menaced them when combining, it practically took away with one hand what it gave with the other. Even the theoretical right to coalesce was subject to several important restrictions. Trade Unions had (1) to deposit their rules with the authorities; (2) to give the addresses of their officials and executive; (3) to show their agenda to the authorities; and (4) to have an agent of the police at their meetings. This apparent Magna Charta of Labour, in fact, had as its immediate result only an epoch of more violent persecution. From 1864 to 1884 no less than 2,293 working men were imprisoned, and 408 fined for taking part in illegal gatherings.*

The year 1884 must always be a memorable one in French industrial history, for on March 21st of that year there was put on the Statute Book the Real Magna Charta of the French Labour movement. Not that it conceded anything uncommon or startling. A British

* *Les associations professionnelles ouvrières* (Office du Travail), t. i.

Trade Union might even have considered it a commonplace concession. But it allowed Trade Unions or professional associations of more than twenty persons carrying on the same or similar trades, or connected with trades associated together to produce the same finished product, to meet freely without the authorisation of the Government. All restrictions, however, were not removed from these licensed associations. They were required (1) to have for their objects the defence of economic interests exclusively; (2) to deposit their rules and the names of their executive; and (3) in the case of any combination of Trade Unions to make known to the Government the names of every individual Trade Union that had entered into the Federation or League. Still, apart from these restrictions, the unions were given a large number of privileges. They could go into the law courts.* They could possess as much real property as was needed for their meetings, libraries, and lectures. They could receive donations and legacies. They could have benefit and superannuation funds.

The Trade Unions have now received formal authorisation in France, but in order to understand the exact legal and constitutional difficulties which the postal servants had to face before their recent strike, it is necessary to add that five years later—on July 1st, 1901—another law was passed enabling professional associations which did not seek a judicial status to be formed without authorisation or previous declaration before the authorities. This law was passed by the votes of the Right and Centre in the Premiership of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and was primarily meant to deal with the voluntary religious organisations or “congregations” which sprang up in the country after the church was disestablished. “This law,” said M. Vallé, in the French Senate, “contains two distinct sections. The

* In this respect, of course, they differ from the British Trade Unions, whose idea it is neither to sue nor be sued.

first regulates associations; the second, congregations. To associations it gives liberty; to congregations it refuses that liberty.”* When the State servants began to think of enrolling themselves amongst the ranks of Trade Unionists, it was at once pointed out by the Government that they could take advantage of the Act of 1901. As will be seen later on, their main reply was that by taking advantage of a different Act from that protecting the rest of the industrial proletariat they would be holding themselves apart from the main army of Labour. But even on the merits of the two Acts, they preferred that of 1884. The latter allowed them to receive gifts or legacies. The law of 1901 either forbade such a privilege or subjected it to harassing restrictions.

This was the legal situation, so far as trade combinations were concerned, when the State servants began to think of uniting together to defend their rights. Judicial authorities were strongly against their right to participate in the benefits of the Act of 1884. Great lawyers like M. Barthélémy pronounced unhesitatingly for a hard and fast distinction between men employed by the State and men occupied in the competitive course of ordinary private employment. “Trade Unions,” said the latter, “are formed to allow workmen to combine for their defence against undue encroachments on the part of capital, and to discuss conditions of employment with their employers. But State employees cannot discuss the conditions of their employment with their employers. Their conditions are regulated not by the intermediary State Department, but by the fundamental laws of the country. In their case, therefore, as there is no immediate employer with whom to discuss or negotiate, a Trade Union has no justification for its existence.”† Here we have to deal with a

* *Séance du Sénat*, June 13th, 1901.

† A section of our own State servants appear to be quite satisfied to adopt this position. Mr. C. G. Ammon, the Parliamentary

position more snugly entrenched within inaccessible legal formulas than any with which the British State servants have had to deal. But all the lawyers and politicians were not quite so uncompromising as M. Barthélémy. A few of them tried to draw a distinction between some State employees and other State employees. Some servants were employed as the direct agents of authority, like the clerks in an administrative department; while others, as in the case of the tobacco industry, were only employed on concerns which at some time or other had been taken over by the central power. The latter might form Trade Unions, while the former were to be strictly debarred from doing so.

It can easily be understood, from what I have already pointed out, that the French State servants were in a very different position from the British officials when they began to combine. The working classes rather distrusted them. In their congresses the Trade Unionists passed resolutions claiming civil rights for Government employees, but outside the congresses the blouse did not seem to harmonise with the black coat. The lawyers frowned at them, and the Government published elaborate memoranda in which was denied their right to associate under the law of 1884. Notwithstanding all these obstacles and discouragements, the State servants steadily pursued their projects of combination. Amongst the first to move were the teachers. Twelve years ago a student of French politics would have scoffed at the idea that the French teachers would ever have thought of throwing in their lot with the Trade Union movement. They were amongst the most vigorous preachers

Secretary of the National Joint Committee of Postal and Telegraph Associations, has written an article for the *Socialist Review*, vol. iii., p. 397, in which he advocates an Arbitration Board of the Board of Trade, to deal with internal grievances and a Permanent Committee of the House of Commons to assist the Postmaster-General on all questions of public utility and wages. This latter proposal would mean differential treatment.

of the doctrine of the *revanche*. They waved the tricolour proudly in their schools. Like the Roman poet, they had no love for the "vulgar crowd," and bade them keep apart. But M. Millerand's record as a Minister, and the Dreyfus case, spread a spirit of disillusionment in their ranks, and when they found that year after year their grievances as to grading and pay remained unredressed, they began more and more to look for help to the general army of Labour forces in their country. It was not easy for them to form strong Trade Unions of the orthodox type. Many of them were scattered about in remote districts or hid in the country school of an almost inaccessible village; and when they appeared in a centre of civilisation and showed themselves refractory, their immediate superiors had only to shift them away again to the confines of civilisation to make them ineffective prophets talking from a far-off wilderness.

All this time, however, the cause of the State servants was "marching on." Associations like "The Association of the Staff Employed on Public Works," "The General Association of Postal, Telegraphic, and Telephonic Employees," "The Society of Clerks Engaged in Bridges, Banks, and Mines," and "The General Union of Agents Employed in the Collection of Indirect Taxation," showed that the spirit of combination had reached most of the departments of the Government service. Soon there was a "Federation of State Employees" to preach the doctrine that "unity is strength"; whilst fierce strikes at Marseilles showed that the *inscrits maritimes*, or sailors liable to be called up for service on men-of-war were as conscious of grievances as any other class of workmen. Very little notice was taken of them so long as they were content to form a class apart and never to dream of claiming the benefits of the law of 1884. But whenever they asked to be recognised as Trade Unions with the "Right to strike," then the lawyers and politicians began to look

askance at them. On October 22nd, 1903, the Court of Appeal at Paris caused consternation among their ranks by confirming a decision of the tribunal of the Seine, refusing to the municipal sewer men of Paris the right of forming themselves into an ordinary Trade Union.

A POSTMEN'S STRIKE.

More and more, however, these associations of State servants felt that the right to enrol themselves under the law of 1884 was the real object to be aimed at. A genteel association was all very well; but it isolated the State employees from the rest of the Labour army, and it prevented them either from striking or accumulating the reserve funds which would provide the wherewithal for a strike. In the forefront of this fight for civil rights must be placed the since famous "General Association of Postal, Telegraphic, and Telephonic Employees." Unlike the teachers, its members were massed in big establishments like the "hands" in a modern factory. A large portion of them dwelt in Paris, the home of the revolutionary Confederation of Labour. It is, therefore, no small matter of surprise that, at conference after conference, the postmen pressed forward their claim to complete civil freedom. In September and October, 1885, they held a conference at Paris at which the question whether they should become a Trade Union was most excitedly discussed. Several of the members pointed out that the *inscrits maritimes*, and the men in the State tobacco factories owed all, or most of their advantages to their unions. But it was speedily apparent that great difficulties lay in their path. A letter was read from M. Jaurés in which he expressed the opinion that without some change in the law they could not possibly enrol themselves as a Trade Union. In the end this moderate opinion triumphed. By 449 votes to 189 the conference decided that in the present state of the law they could not get what they wanted; but like the British Unions after Taff Vale, they made

up their minds to agitate vigorously for the amendment of the law.

In 1886, another conference was held, and the same general conclusion was registered. But by this time it was evident that there was a strong and enthusiastic majority who were willing to defy the laws, and enrol themselves at once as an orthodox Trade Union. The Government felt it was time to take alarm. On June 27th, 1905, M. Bienvenu-Martin, Minister of Public Instruction, wrote a letter affirming that the right to form Trade Unions was restricted "to those who, whether as employers or employees, are connected with industry, agriculture, or commerce." This was rather vague, but on September 7th of the same year, M. Dubief, Minister of Commerce, issued a much longer and more definite memorandum, in which he made it quite clear that a postman could not at the same time be a Trade Unionist. This memorandum was couched in moderate language, and was meant to reiterate the distinction between functionaries who had entrusted to them a part of the authority of the State and men who were engaged in what were simply commercial undertakings taken under State control. The Minister admitted that the distinction was rather difficult to develop, and that he had such an eminent economic authority as M. Bourguin against him; but the net result of his memorandum to fortify the conclusion already in the minds of those who "acted with him," was that the postmen could only combine under the law of 1901. In 1906 the men were definitely refused the "right to strike." The *Journal Officiel* of May 22nd of that year contained a report of the President of the Council in which no doubt was left that if the State servants attempted to use this ultimate remedy of the ordinary workmen, their revolt would be looked on as a kind of treason against the State.

During 1907 and 1908 it had become perfectly plain that the position of the State servants was causing many

a flutter in the Ministerial dovecots. A new project of law on the subject was deposited in March of 1907 by M. Guyot-Dessaigne in the Chamber, but it did not come to much. It was not till the end of 1908 that a Committee of the Chamber recommended a more definite law in which mention was made of a subject which contributed very largely to bring on the latest strikes among the postmen. Anyone who studies the social and political literature of France must be aware of the extent to which accusations of favouritism in Government appointments are hurled against the Ministers and officials in high office. The life of a Deputy is made miserable by the people who remain behind the scenes and yet expect him to provide snug and comfortable berths for their protégés. The clerks already in State offices never ceased to cry out against the lack of system in giving them promotion. Just when they had by ability and hard work justly earned "a step higher," some nominee of a Minister stepped in—one hardly knew when—and deprived them of all their hard-earned opportunities. Over-conscientious heads of departments, who made special recommendations in favour of competent men, found that their testimonials were coldly received by their official superiors.

This was the state of affairs at the end of 1908 and the beginning of 1909, when the postmen were excited over the rules of promotion, and were inclined to seize the opportunity to break a lance with the Government. On December 27th, 1908, there was held a congress of all the State servants who desired to take advantage of the law of 1884. No less than twenty different associations took part in it, and they decided unanimously to claim entire liberty to join their forces with the Trade Unions in the future, and to demand the reinstatement of all the men who had suffered for doing so in the past. Considerable consternation was caused when the report was made, and it was taken as indicating that these associations of Government servants were prepared to

throw themselves into line with the revolutionary Confederation of Labour. This is a hybrid federation of federations, consisting of delegates from the ordinary federation of Trade Unions, and also of delegates from the Trade Councils or *bourses du travail*. From the first this Confederation had abandoned the beaten path of Parliamentary Socialist or Labour Parties. It had its orators, publicists, and journalists. It ran lectures and held great meetings. It taught the working classes that they must win power by their own organised strength. Its leaders muttered the ominous threat of a coming "General Strike." At the beginning of 1906 it had started an agitation for an eight-hours day among the Post Office officials, and the same year there was a general strike of arsenal men and miners. Paris had been plunged into darkness at a word of command from M. Pataud, the energetic secretary of the Electricians' Union. The middle classes were thoroughly alarmed, and M. Clemenceau knew that if he put his back to the wall he would find that a very considerable section of the nation would rally to his support.

The immediate occasion of the latest revolt was a question of promotion. After a good many official reports it had been settled that men should be moved up from one post to another according to a "rule of three," which it is unnecessary, for the purpose of this paper, further to particularise. The sorters in mail carriages attempted to interview the Minister, M. Barthou, on the subject of this hard and fast rule, but they were promised nothing. Losing control of themselves, they rushed in disorderly fashion to the Palais Bourbon, where they were met by the Under-Secretary for the Post Office, M. Simyan, and the head of the Paris Police. Thirty-two arrests were made, and the men in the head office were immediately in a ferment. Threats of "sabotage"* were bandied about on every side, and

* This ill-omened word has been heard a great deal in recent Labour troubles both in France and Italy. It includes our "Ca'

the excited Deputies of Paris were asking themselves in fear and dread what was going to happen next.

The revolt began on a question of promotion, but it very speedily widened into a general re-assertion of the full civil rights of all State servants. The rebels were encouraged by what they interpreted as a sign of weakness on the part of M. Barthou. On the 19th of March he repudiated all suggestion of dealing with them. He would receive no deputations. He would give no sort of acknowledgment to their combinations. But three days afterwards he yielded and received a deputation, adding at the same time that he would have incurred a very heavy responsibility if he had not done so. There can be no question that the postmen gained a considerable triumph as the result of this first rebellion. No treaty was signed with the Government. But the principal representatives of the men had an interview with M. Clemenceau, the Premier, in which the latter asked them to trust a Government which would not betray their confidence and—so the men afterwards alleged—virtually led them to understand that the unpopular Under-Secretary, M. Simyan, would be removed, and that all the rebels would be re-instated in their former posts.

It is not necessary to inquire into the real facts of these negotiations in a discussion which deals not with the details of this strike, but with the lessons underlying it. Suffice it to say that the leading newspapers of France looked upon it at the time as a triumph of industrial rebellion, and some of them foresaw grave social consequences in the future. But very soon mutterings were heard in the ranks of the postmen who had returned to duty. M. Simyan had not been removed. Men

Canny," and also deliberate waste of materials or mischief to rolling stock. It at once connected the postmen with the Confederation of Labour; although it is only fair to add that some of the ablest defenders of the Confederation, such as M. Georges Sorel, disapprove of "sabotage."

were being victimised for their conduct during the strike. On May 6th a deputation waited on M. Barthou, and asked for the removal of M. Simyan. They did not receive satisfaction, and immediately the gage of battle was thrown into the political and economic arena. The Postmen's Association was transformed into an ordinary Trade Union.

Now was the question of the privileges of State servants raised in its strongest and most uncompromising form. The postmen stood upon their rights, and they looked around at the Trade Unions included in the Confederation of Labour to help them in the battle. At that time, however, the Confederation of Labour was hardly in a fighting mood. It had been the scene of a great struggle between its Moderates and its Extremists, and a Moderate man, M. Niel, had been elected by a small majority to the secretaryship. M. Niel, it was very evident, was not very anxious to line in battle the whole Labour forces of France. There are about 400,000 State railway servants in France, and the secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, M. Guérard, also a Moderate Trade Unionist, was next appealed to. He also found that his men were disinclined to spoil for a fight, although he consented to appear at a big mass meeting of the postmen and give what was interpreted as a fighting speech. M. Basly had a similar experience with the French miners. He asked them formally to declare *la grève générale*, but he found the men inclined to procrastination and delay. Notwithstanding these discouragements, however, the officials of the new Trade Union of the postmen felt that they had gone too far to retreat. A discussion was challenged in the Chamber, during the course of which the Socialist Members of Parliament taunted the Government with trying to reduce the postmen to slavery, and M. Barthou retaliated by accusing the rebels of anti-patriotism. This debate, however, as it happened, considerably spoiled the prospects of the strikers. The men had

agreed to wait the issue of the debate before taking a final step; but unfortunately for them the debate was adjourned until the middle of the week—to May 13th. Divided counsels made the postmen's action of no effect. Some of the more ardent spirits refused to wait till the second debate, and struck immediately. Others preferred to wait the issue. The consequence was that when the second debate came on, it found only a portion of the men on strike, the Government masters of the situation, and the Confederation of Labour only issuing empty proclamations, which produced no immediate result.

The second debate—so anxiously expected by many of the still procrastinating State servants, duly came off on May 13th. It produced some striking and even brilliant speeches. M. Jaurés delivered one of his most splendid orations, in which he warned the Government that they could not, at this late time of day, divide workmen permanently into two classes—(1) private employees, with the right to strike, and no pensions; and (2) public employees, with pensions, and no right to strike. He proclaimed in its naked entirety the right of every State servant to full civil privileges. But it was all in vain. M. Clemenceau evidently held the trump cards. The head of the rebellion was broken. The officials at the post offices were easily able to cope with all their arrears of business. Confident in his strength, the Premier had all the twenty-seven postmen whose names were appended to the articles of association of the new Trade Union, summoned before the Commissary of Police, M. Berthelot. The latter informed them that their union under the law of 1884 could not be tolerated, and gave them a fortnight to reflect over the error of their ways. On June 2nd, eighteen of them wrote a reply to M. Berthelot, in which they asserted that they could not comply with his summons as they were advised that only the courts had power to dissolve their union. Still, notwithstanding

their bold front, Trade Unionism in the State service, for the time at least, had fought its Waterloo.

A few days after the debate of May 13th, 1909, M. Clemenceau* produced a Bill which would apply to France the idea of Disciplinary Councils as a substitute for the Court of Arbitration which Mr. Austen Chamberlain suggested in the British Parliament. They will sit in all branches and departments of the public service, but they are differently constituted according to the seriousness of the questions brought before them. The more trivial questions will be dealt with by the heads of departments only. Graver questions will be settled by the Minister, on the advice of a small council, which includes two State employees of the same grade as the official to be dealt with. The gravest questions are considered in the first instance by the Council, but there is an appeal to a more august tribunal composed of high legal functionaries, of whom two are Councillors of the Court of Cassation. No Trade Unions are to be permitted among State employees. Officials of the same category, and of any category, shall have the right to enter into an association; and the unions thus formed may combine in one general association. But these general associations must comprise only one kind of functionaries, *i.e.*, the Government clerks, in whatever Ministry they may be employed. A general federation of all kinds of State employees is forbidden, and any association which strikes will be immediately dissolved,

* Since this was written M. Clemenceau has resigned, "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung," but it appears likely that his Bill will be carried forward by his successor, M. Briand. The latter was once a member of the French Socialist Party, and distinguished himself in that capacity as an uncompromising advocate of the General Strike. M. Millerand has accepted a place in M. Briand's Cabinet, and has negotiated with the postmen since his entry into office. He has shown himself more conciliatory than his predecessors as regards the reinstatement of strikers, but he seems to have no idea of allowing State servants to take advantage of the Act of 1884.

and its disciplinary councils suspended. This scheme would put an end to all dreams of the State servants joining the Confederation of Labour. They would be absolutely prohibited from uniting with ordinary Trade Unions, except mutual benefit organisations.

This Governmental scheme is a most momentous one, and as has been already pointed out, it vitally affects the future of Collectivist or Bureaucratic Socialism. For a long time Socialists have cried out for the assumption by the community of functions and services which have been previously left to private employers.* Elaborate plans have been drawn out as to how the process can be successfully accomplished. Bills, such as the Railways, Mines, Canals, etc., Bill, of 1907, have been introduced into the House of Commons, which confer upon the Local Government Board powers to acquire the ownership of mines, canals, and railways, and which confide to a wondering public how by the creation of nationalisation bonds bearing interest at 3 per cent. the former owners can be equitably compensated. This kind of Bureaucratic Socialism would be all very well if the deed could be done in the twinkling of an eye! If, by the stroke of a magician's wand, the means of production, distribution, and exchange, could one moment be private and the next public property, then we should all wear the livery of the Commonwealth, and no man could benefit from the privileges or suffer from the disabilities of a Government official. But if the process is to go on slowly and piecemeal—and no Socialist in these days could ever maintain otherwise—then it is evident that if Bureaucracy or Collectivism is the last word of Socialism, the difficulties will be enormous. It is true that in this country matters

* An example of a Socialist programme not based entirely on Collectivist lines may be found in Bernstein's most recent book, "*Der Revisionismus in der Social Demokratie*," pp. 42-47. See also "*Il Revisionismo Socialista*," in "*Critica Sociale*," 1 Luglio, 1909.

have not reached a final stage. There has been no question of preventing the postmen from allying themselves with the ordinary Trade Unionist. But if Mr. Austen Chamberlain's scheme of special Arbitration Courts became an accomplished fact, then it is hard to say what corollaries it would bring in his train. Postmen would have special State machinery for settling their disputes, and they would be forbidden to avail themselves of the ultimate weapon of the strike. At any rate, this is the accomplished fact in France. Besides the State servants on railways, whose numbers have already been given, there are in France more than 120,000 post office officials, 118,000 tax officials, and 102,000 teachers. All these men are to be cut off from the ranks of ordinary labour, and confined to certain approved methods of agitating their grievances.

The whole situation suggests that the economic evolution is not going to develop on the lines laid down by State Socialists, and that it is not in the interests of working men that it should. Undoubtedly great progress has been made in the development by the community and municipality of industries hitherto in private hands. There are State railways in Prussia, State mountains in Switzerland, State mines in Hungary, State matches in Austria, State tobacco in France, and State fisheries in Roumania.* There are few departments of public industry in which Collectivists could not quote some precedents in some country for establishing some measure of control by the community. But if the result of Collectivist control is to bring forward proposals for depriving the men in State industries of some of their most important civil rights; if it is treason for the State railwaymen to propose a strike, or for the State match-box girls to be advised by the Women's Industrial Council, then the workers in these

* See No. 3 of an interesting new Swiss Review, *Les Annales de la Regie Directe*, edited by the Genevan Professor, Edgar Millhaud.

industries will begin seriously to ask whether these Socialist proposals really confirm them in any valuable measure of economic freedom.

Collectivists, of course, cry out against doubts on this score. They ban the economic heretics with "bell, book, and candle." "The other day," says Mr. Sidney Webb, "M. Goblet, with, as I understand, the concurrence and support of the whole of the Socialist Members of the Assembly, proposed as a Socialist measure that the present coal owners should, under certain circumstances, be expropriated, and the mines transferred—not to the community as a whole, or to any town or district—but to the men actually working in each mine, who were to divide among themselves the profits hitherto enjoyed by the industrial lessees of the mine. I have read a good many notices of the proposal, but I have nowhere seen it pointed out that, so far from being Socialist in character, it is really in direct opposition to Socialist principles. We do not desire to see the mines, and the profits from the mines transferred to the miners but to the community as a whole. How far the management should be national, and how far local, is an unsettled problem of democratic administration. But to hand over the nation's coal to one particular set of workers is, in my view, no more a Socialist proposal than the late George Elliot's scheme for transferring it to a capitalist syndicate. What we as Socialists look for is, not the assumption by any trade of the management of that trade, but the extension of the public organisation of industry, whether under the Central Government, the County, the Town, or the Parish Council, in the interest of the community as a whole."*

* "Problems of Modern Industry," by S. and B. Webb, pp. 271-272. It is certain that Karl Marx would not have agreed with this view. In the "Minimum Programme," prepared for the French Congress of Havre in 1880 by Marx, Engels, and Jules Guesde, the following is found as the 9th Article of the "Economic

The necessity of such an economic development, so well and cogently defended by Mr. Sidney Webb, has latterly been seriously questioned from the side of Labour itself. Already, on other grounds, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., is crying out that "municipalisation of trams and gas, nationalisation of railways, canals, and docks are all very well in their way, but they don't get to the root of the trouble." In the Port of London Bill, Parliament itself has now recognised the principle that not the general body of the ratepayers only, but the representatives of particular industries have a claim to exercise influence on Boards which act in the name of the community. When this tendency increases and extends, it will lead to far-reaching changes in the tactics of Socialist and Labour Parties, and will compel them to revise their whole method of action in order to make it consistent with the varied and complex needs of the time.

THE STATE VERSUS ITS SERVANTS.

The new Social Democracy has no infallible Pope. It is wedded to no invariable method of procedure and tactics. Now that doubts have been suggested as to the wisdom of later bureaucratic developments, it is well to remember that only comparatively late in the nineteenth century did Socialism become identified with "the public organisation of industry" in the sense of Collectivism, or the extension of the powers of the State or other public authority as at present constituted. There is no reason in the world why the question should not be at once put whether there is any assured future for Collectivism. Many of the names that are quoted as supporters of this tendency in Socialism are not really so if their works are clearly scrutinised. Louis Blanc,

Section " : " Banques, chemins de fer, mines, etc., et l'exploitation de tous les ateliers de l'état confiées aux ouvriers que y travaillent." See " Les Congrès ouvriers en France," par Léon de Seilhac, p. 60.

for example, who is usually considered the first great State Socialist, in reality held that in the future "the State, instead of being, as is to-day every big capitalist, the ruler and the tyrant of the market, will only be its regulator."* Even when the famous International of working men began, at its meeting in Brussels in 1868, to discuss seriously "the definition and functions of the State," it did not at once imitate Mr. Sidney Webb and bar out the idea that some industrial services might be better undertaken by associations of working men rather than by the bureaucratic State as then constituted.†

Why should there be any disposition to look on a Social Democrat as simply one who believes in the "State ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange"? There is no magic charm or abracadabra about the phrase "State or municipal ownership." You are not going to revolutionise men's minds or hearts or habits simply by transferring their capital from their private yard to a State repository. Indeed, when the work of municipalisation was first seriously taken up in this country by City and Borough Councils, it was not with the hope of ushering in a Collectivist millennium but simply for business reasons or in order to relieve the rates. It was certainly not because men of Socialist proclivities or the members of the "Fourth Estate" had obtained a majority on that special governing body. Probably there may not have been a single Labour representative in their midst. They might not even desire their company. But they took over the control of the "local monopolies" because they thought

* See his "Organisation du Travail," Cinquième Edition, p. 101.

† For the beginnings of Collectivism, valuable material will be found brought together in "César de Paepe," par Louis Bertrand, p. 53 *et seq.*; and in *L'Internationale*, par James Guillaume, vol. iii.; also Jules Puech, "Proudhonism et L'Internationale."

it was good business and they brought fresh grist into the municipal mill.*

The new Social Democrat cannot, however, continue the work of State or municipal conquest for merely statistical reasons. As I have already shown in previous chapters, he is the herald of a mighty future. He will revolutionise human society from top to bottom. He will move men's heads and hearts. He will touch law and religion as well as the bread and butter of economic appeal. But when you speak of all or most of the industrial services being handed over to the State, he is compelled to ask the important question, What do you mean by the State? Is it some ideal organisation of society or is it the Government departments as at present constituted? If you perforce reply, we must begin with the latter, he goes on to heckle you further! How is the State at present constituted? What is the purpose underlying its organisation of industry or the allocation of its Budget votes? The answers are not reassuring for the Collectivist. As for the power underlying its organisation of industry, Professor Veblin, the most acute analyst of modern Commercialism tells us that it is "the business man." "The business man, especially the business man of wide and authoritative discretion," he says, "has become a controlling force in industry, because, through the mechanism of investment and markets, he controls the plants and processes, and these set the pace and determine the direction of movement for the rest."†

* In a paper read in February, 1910, before the Manchester Economic Society, Mr. Douglas Knoop pointed out that the statistical methods of proving the advantages of municipal ownership were mostly fallacious. For example, a municipal electric tramway system could not justly be compared with the company horse car system, which it superseded. See *Municipal Journal*, February 25th, 1910. Yet these were the considerations which were most decisive in helping forward the work of municipalisation.

† Veblin, "The Theory of Business Enterprise," p. 2.

And as for the allocation of its Budget votes, you have only to take the most favourable example, the Estimates of our own Radical Ministry for 1910-11. The enormous total of £69,206,000 is allocated to military and police protection by land and sea. All other services have small consideration in proportion to this. The Post Office takes £19,828,000; Education absorbs £14,065,000; Old Age Pensions has to be content with £9,220,000. Figures like these are highly significant. They enable us to understand all that has been already said about the difficult position of State servants. We have not yet quite made the transition from a Military to a Commercial State. And what we had of commerce, is managed, as Professor Veblin points out, not *pro bono publico*, but at all costs to obtain a few extraducats of money profit. If you expect the millennium by handing over to such a State the "means of production, distribution, and exchange," you may find that instead of finishing in "Utopia," you may be punished by the "Iron Heel." If you regard the "nationalisation of railways" as the most brilliant line of business to which you can apprentice your Labour Members, you may discover that the State looks on its uniformed railwaymen just as it looks upon its uniformed conscripts. You cannot safely put new wine into old bottles. You do not cure unemployment by clothing a few workers in coats with brass buttons. The significance of the detailed history I have given of events in France lies in this, that the French workmen are beginning to see that the advantage of being a functionary of the present-day State is dearly gained if it implies the possibility of his being forbidden all combination with his fellow workers in private employment.*

But perhaps it will be said this is merely a difficulty to be overcome. The lesson of it is that the basis of

* Cp. Novicow, "Les Gaspillages des Sociétés Modernes," p. 150, and Paul Louis, "Le Syndicalisme contre l'état," p. 83.

the State must be changed. For the Bureaucratic State we must substitute a State based on more democratic ideas. This is the position taken up by M. Vandervelde, the leader of the Belgian Socialists, who protests against the imputation that by the Collectivist State he means "the Capitalist State or the Monarchical and Military State."* He further seems to believe in the possibility of drawing some such distinction as has already been discussed between these State servants who are employed as direct agents of authority and those, who as in the case of the railways, are merely workers in an industrial concern which has chanced to be taken over by the Central Power. The latter he would remove as far as possible from the suspicion of bureaucratic tyranny. He would establish "a consultative Rate committee, composed of railway officials, M.P.'s, and representatives of Belgian commerce and industry, whose opinion the Minister would be bound to take before arranging for a revision of rates." This sounds very well on paper, but the drawback to the suggestion is that it hardly represents the prevalent practice of Socialist parties in Europe. If the State is to be brought under democratic management, and bureaucracy is to be opposed all along the line, then it would follow that the Socialist parties should join with all their heart in any movement that strike at vested interests, and thus leaves the road free for the evolution of the people's mind and heart. As a matter of fact, Socialism has been very jealous of any proposals that simply led in the Democratic direction. It was very difficult to get any enthusiasm among the French Socialists for the anti-Clerical agitation. An influential section of them decried M. Jaurés for his Dreyfusard enthusiasm. And the consequence is that the State goes on unreformed, or but slowly reformed, and that if Socialists cry out for more Collectivist experiments, they must make up their minds

* See Vandervelde, "Collectivism and Industrial Revolution," p. 67.

to see them tried by the present bureaucratic set of departments. The very State Railways about which M. Vandervelde speculates have since been in a "sea of troubles." Even as I write, April, 1910, I read in the Belgian newspaper, *Le Peuple*, that the Labour M.P.'s of that country are discussing a circular issued by the Minister of Railways, M. Helleputte, forbidding the State railwaymen to associate like other Trade Unionists. Mass meetings are being held in Brussels, and addressed by prominent Socialist speakers. Allegations are made that though the Labour Unions are denied the right to associate or go in procession, the Roman Catholic Unions are permitted, their priests at their head, to associate and demonstrate as they will. Doubtless, every Socialist in Belgium cherished the happy thought, when the State took over the railways, that he had taken a big stride towards the Socialist Utopia. In reality, the complaints about the treatment of men on the State railways are as loud and persistent as they are in private industries. And why? Because the Belgian State means the bureaucracy of Belgium, and the masters of that bureaucracy are not out to deal with their business on any other principles than those on which they would deal with their own private concerns. To nationalise any industry will only mean that it is placed under the control of the people if in the nation the people's will is supreme. To say that there is any virtue in nationalisation *per se* is to make a statement palpably in disaccord with all the facts.

Most of the deductions in the previous part of this paper have been based on French Social phenomena, and this may rouse suspicion in some British minds. Are not we more happily circumstanced than they? It may therefore at this stage be convenient to ask, Cannot all these evil results be prevented by a strong Labour element in the responsible Government? Cannot some distinction be drawn between State servants and State servants? The clerk in the Colonial Office who has to

read confidential correspondence cannot take part in a party political meeting where he might make unfair use of deductions based on this correspondence! But if the State simply runs the railways, or makes lucifer matches, or even opens publichouses, would it not be at once admitted that the workers in these industries are simply of the same class and to be allowed the same privileges as workers in other industries? The answer is that even when the utmost limit of concessions is reached to the State employees difficulties infallibly arise. For example, the British Postmen's Federation are allowed to unite with the other Trade Unions in the Labour Party, but I have already quoted from a publication of the Federation the strong statement that "if each new step in public ownership is to be accompanied by a partial disfranchisement of the rank and file workers, a point is bound to be reached when nominal Democracy shades into actual oligarchy." Furthermore, the State servant has his special prestige, his graded pay, or his gaudy livery, and it is impossible to prevent a certain jealousy which arises between the State Employees and the man or woman in ordinary private employment. Our own Trade Union Congress has found the position of State and municipal employees a most difficult one, and it has watched with great and marked dislike their tendency to form small unions of their own, and exert disproportionate influence in central congresses, instead of dispersing their members among the unions already in existence and representing their own particular trade. Finally, even when Labour has practically found its way into the inner circle of State, it seems impotent to arrest the tendency to make fish of the private and fowl of the State employee. Take for example the Law of Arbitration and Conciliation passed by the Commonwealth of Australia in 1904. A special judgment of the Australian Supreme Court has forbidden the application of this law to public functionaries. Now that the Labour Party (May, 1910) are supreme in both

legislatures of the Commonwealth, it is possible they may do something to alter this; but the fact that in a country where Democracy has attained so many sweeping victories, there should be the same difficulty and the same hard and fast distinctions, shows how very inherent they are in the very basis of Collectivism.* And even when Labour is at the helm of State, it is not there for ever. The victory is not going to be gained after one stiff fight. The process of making the modern State really democratic must necessarily be a long and a painful one, and if it is possible at every stage of the way to inflict disabilities on your working population, the end may be definitely delayed. Even if you had succeeded in wresting a liberal measure of freedom for your State servants, the spirit of these concessions could easily be forgotten in some sudden mood of panic! The British Postmen's Federation might be allowed to join the Federation of Trade Unions, but if it attempted to join in some serious strike, the cry would be raised for disfranchisement or other disabilities on the ground that they were untrue to the uniform they wore.

But still another line of escape may be opened for Collectivism! Bureaucracy is bad. This may now be freely conceded. It is foolish to expect figs of thistles; and no good results for Socialism can be extorted from businesses run by a Military State. But suppose we pass a self-denying ordinance! Suppose we say that we shall hand over no more State servants to the tender mercies of the State until the State is completely

* For the Commonwealth law see "Le Movement Social en Australasie," in *Le Musée Social*, 1909, p. 281. Great dissatisfaction exists among the workers of Australia because of the heavy penalties which have been inflicted on workmen who refused to submit themselves to the decisions of the Arbitration Courts. For example, the *International Socialist*, of Sydney, records that a certain Peter Bowring was sentenced to 2½ years' hard labour for organising a strike against the wish of the Court. The result is to give increased importance, in the mind of the Australian worker, to "the right to strike."

democratised! Does not the device at once get rid of all the objections that have hitherto been urged? Are we not then in a position calmly to contemplate the assumption of universal State ownership? The answer to both these questions is decidedly in the negative. In the first place, anyone who has studied the political history of England since 1884 would at once admit that in these later days economic problems cry out so loudly for solution that no democratic government would have the necessary dynamic if it tried to postpone or evade them. "The flame of political democracy," says Mr. J. R. MacDonald, "has died away. The demand for political power, except perhaps in the special case of women, will for its own sake stir up no more crusades. The finishing touches will not be put upon political Democracy until the existing constitution is proved to be no barrier to social legislation."* These statements are profoundly true, and the recognition of them has proved one of the most valuable assets of the British Labour Party. But still more can be said. The Australian Commonwealth is in 1910 the most advanced Democracy of the world. Here we have an important Federal Government with both its Upper and Lower Chambers completely dominated by the Trade Unions of the Fourth Estate. Is there any movement in Australia towards universal Collectivism? Are the Trade Unions using their democratic power to lay hands on as many industries as possible in the name of the State? Exactly the reverse. Many years ago, a distinguished French social reformer, M. Metin, wrote a book on Australian developments, which he called by the suggestive name of "Socialism without dogmas (*Socialisme sans doctrines*). The description is as true to-day as it was then. The all-powerful Labour Government of Australia is in no hurry to lay its hands on everything in the name of the community. It does not

* "Socialism and Society," by J. R. MacDonald, p. 150.

even make an exception in the case of land where, if anywhere, as I shall show in the next paragraph, there is a case for communal ownership. Instead of striving to own the land, the Labour Government imposes a heavy graduated tax on undeveloped land values. It propounds its theory of the "new Protection." Its Socialism, such as it is, is "poles asunder" from all Collectivist dogmas, and gives no support to the supposition that all hindrances would be removed if the State were completely democratised.

The difficulties connected with the position of the State servants in any Collectivist scheme get more numerous the longer we make a detailed examination of the question. If the new Social Democracy simply means the multiplication of these perfect officials, whom Mr. H. G. Wells names his "Samurai," then it is a bad day for the new Social Democracy. But Collectivism is not the only hope for the democratic future. It is even, as I have already pointed out, a comparatively late importation. The earliest Socialist theories no doubt took some account of the facts and forces in the world around them. Plato's "Republic" was based on his experience of the Greek City State. More's "Utopia" pre-supposed the sixteenth century. Cabet's "Icarie" was not simply a "castle in the air." But until the second half of the nineteenth century all the great Socialist writers mainly "saw visions and dreamt dreams." They might not all dip so far into the future as Fourier, who wrote confidently of a time when the cock would cease to torment weak nerves by its crow, and when the earth would be inhabited by a permanent battalion of 37 million poets equal to Homer, 37 million geometers equal to Newton, and 37 million comedians equal to Molière.* But they all contemplated a changed world, and a changed race to inhabit it. The mists that had settled on mundane affairs were all

* See *L'Internationale*, par Jas. Guillaume, vol. iii., p. 153.

cleared away. Men and women awoke to a new morning. But with Karl Marx, from the time he wrote the "Communist Manifesto" there was no disposition to look at events as other than they really were. He was above all a great organiser. Perhaps he was even more in his element when compiling the statistics of the "International" than when he was writing "Das Kapital." He looked on his fellow committeemen as instruments in his hands. He regarded men like Bakunin as charlatans and cheats. The world was divided into two classes: those who could help Marx and those who could hinder him. The first were saints; the second sinners. Even his friend Engels had caught the contagion. There is a strong complaint still extant from the Anarchist section of the International, in which they allege that Engels never forgot that he was a retired manufacturer, and that he tried to bring into Socialist organisation the methods of a business boss. Who can wonder that with such a spirit in the ruling section of the International, Socialism found nothing foreign or alien in the bureaucratic methods of the modern State? Collectivism seemed to come to it quite naturally. It was the atmosphere in which it had been born and bred. It may even be added that this kind of government from above is the danger to which the German mind is most particularly prone. British democrats have never ceased to wonder at the extent to which the free German citizen will consent to be harassed by dragoons. Small wonder is it, therefore, that Schäffle, in his masterly sketch of Socialism, is quite content to hitch its future to the State as at present constituted. "The Socialist system of production," he says, "is merely the universal extension of the public service and of public departments." This is the thin end of the wedge. Already in this one short sentence we see the plain and manifest prophecy of Bureaucratic Socialism.

Undoubtedly there must be some State officials in the society of the future. The Anarchists thought "No,"

and in so doing they played into the hands of Marx and his friends. There are some parts of the life of the State so fundamental and all important that special provision must be made for their control by the embodied will of the whole community. Take, for instance, the land. Every social organism means, in its primary idea, population and territory.* The people can have no real life if they have no land on which to lay the sole of their feet. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his early days, once invited thinking men to consider what would happen if one man managed to acquire all the soil of the globe. The fortunate or unfortunate multi-millionaire would be able to keep us all in a state of slavery. So long as he held the land we should have no other alternative but to be in bondage and subjection to this one man. The supposition is, of course, an extreme one; but it shows how necessary it is to keep an eye on the land. You may municipalise your trams and gas. You may nationalise your railways, canals, docks, and factories, but if there is an overmastering land interest to lay their hands on the direction of affairs, all your nationalising enthusiasm will come to nought. You may live under a constitution as liberal as concessions can make it, but your Small Holdings Act, even when passed, comes in contact with a powerful and entrenched system of caste before which your Government Department is obliged to quail. From the very first this land question has assumed an importance in the eyes of British and American Social Democracy which it has had nowhere else. Henry George and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace probably made more Socialists here than Karl Marx. But it is strange that when the Belgian Cæsar de Paepe first tried to lay down the lines of Collectivist Socialism in the 'sixties of the nineteenth century, it was on the question of the land that he encountered the most bitter

* This has been well brought out by modern Sociology, for example, in the works of De Greef.

opposition. The disciples of Proudhon were willing to nationalise railways or canals, but they were unwilling to interfere with private property in land. Proudhon himself, in his posthumous works, had looked on the possession of land as essential to real individuality.* In reality, nothing is more essential than that the ultimate control of land should never slip out of the hands of the community. With land there may be connected the systems of circulation, communication, and transport. But when we have passed from these and the control of coals and mines, we approach a big estate in the domain of society in which it has by no means been demonstrated that Collectivism possesses all or even the chief rights of preemption.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIETIES.

Collectivism is certainly collapsing, and with the revelation of this fact, it might be expected that this chapter could very well conclude. But the previous course of argument would certainly be incomplete if some indication were not given—albeit in the vaguest fashion—of the movements in the womb of the social organism which will prevent any future tyranny of Collectivist officials.

The history of civilisation has been one continued protest against the dominance of Bureaucracy. From the earliest manifestations of human evolution, in savagery, in Babylonia, in early Greece, in the Roman Empire, in the middle ages, and in our own times there have been associations formed away from the State and performing a large and important part in the functioning of the world's progress.† Even the ancient slaves had

* See Proudhon, "Theorie de la Propriété," and *cp.* it with his first memoir, "What is Property?"

† See for the savage "murder societies" Miss Mary Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," and also for other aspects of the question Sayce, "Babylonians and Assyrians," p. 141; Guirard, "La main d'œuvre industrielle dans l'ancienne Grèce," p. 205; Ram-

their private associations. Savages had their "murder societies." Christianity arose in burial clubs and trade meetings. Merchant and Craft Guilds give interest to the tales of mediæval times. Trade Unions, Friendly and Co-operative Societies, Legal and Medical Reform Leagues, how they all make the warp and woof of the life of the nineteenth century! The contract in these societies is a free contract. It was entered into by a man or woman's own consent. They are as far removed as possible from the imputation of bureaucratic tyranny.

Trade Unions, for example, are private associations of the men of any particular trade. Prof. Veblen, as the outcome of his acute analysis of modern commercialism, arrives at the conclusion that "the outcome of its management of affairs through pecuniary transactions is to dissociate the interests of the men who exercise the discretion from the interests of the community." Trade Unionism comes in to redress the balance from the point of view of the working population. Collectivists have no great love for Trade Unions.* We have already seen how bitterly and persistently the centralised power of France barred every step of their progress. It is essential to a government by experts that it should allow no rival claimants to its throne of superiority.

Fortunately the Trade Unionist movement is every day giving fresh evidence that it has come to stay. From the figures given in a recent article by the secretary of its International, there are now eight millions of the working population in Belgium, Bosnia, Bulgaria,

say, "The Church in the Roman Empire"; Dill, "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius"; Mrs. J. R. Green, "Town Life in the 15th Century"; Hauser, "Ouvriers du Temps passé"; Baernreither, "English Associations of Working Men"; and Webb, "History of Trade Unionism." Another book, which must be read with caution, but which throws a flood of light on this whole subject, is Ward's "Ancient Lowly."

* See letters in *Labour Leader*, May 6th, 1910.

Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Finland, France, Italy, Kroatia, Holland, North America, Norway, Austria, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Servia, Spain, and Hungary officially associated with the international movement. In addition, there are five millions who, though not directly affiliated, are ready to act with the International in any case of need. Altogether, it has been calculated that leaving out of account women, who are yet most inadequately organised, and some other callings untouched by the Industrial Revolution, about a quarter of the working population in the leading industrial countries of the world has been organised in Trade Unions.* This large and imposing force—the moving power of the new Democracy—is a centre of busy activities. Unemployed benefit, sickness and old age benefit, burial grants, benevolent grants, libraries, lectures, newspapers, agitation—what an amount of well spent energy do not each of these words connote! And the units of this industrial army are no casual volunteers hastily resolving to act together like a ward or campaign committee.† They are accustomed to meet together. They are schooled to submit to special and extraordinary levies. They have the instinct of combination. No wonder the State employees of Belgium and France look askance when they are invited to separate themselves from a force so well disciplined and formidable.

These private associations tend to multiply as society gets more complex. Co-operative stores have not disappeared as the early Socialists thought they would. Whenever any body of men or women now meet to reform the universe, they begin by saying, "Go to! let us make a society!" There have been many speculations in recent years as to whether society is or is not

* See Carl Legien, "Die Gewerkschaftliche Internationale," in *Socialistische Monatshefte*, April 7th, p. 417, and Paul Louis, "Le Syndicalisme contre l'état," p. 179.

† For many valuable thoughts see Fournière, "L'Individu, l'association et l'état."

an organism. All kinds of ingenious books have been written to show that the State has a brain, heart, lungs, stomach, and innumerable armies of microbes and bacteria. There is abundance of reason for most of these analogies. Every science reposes on the sure and certain ground of the simpler science that has gone before it. But when we introduce into the tissue of society this element of associations, we introduce an element which differentiates society from the biological organism. In biology a cell is a cell of a definite organ and of a definite body of tissue. A nerve cell is a cell of the nerve. It cannot at the same time and place be a cell of the cuticle. But a man may be a member of an indefinite number of voluntary associations of every kind and formed for every purpose. He may be a member of a society for Proportional Representation. He may be on the committee of an organisation for safeguarding the simple life. He may subscribe to the Association for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. And you cannot merge his personality completely in his citizenship of any particular State. You cannot say that because he is a social unit he is only a unit of the social body. He has other interests which are not completely exhausted in his State activity. His eager personality yearns to express itself in all kinds and forms of additional activity. This is the real reconciliation of Individualism and Socialism. It shows how a man can be a new Social Democrat and yet have a big soul to call his own. They err who say that in the well-compacted society of the future all competition will be suppressed. Religion and ethics gain by division. Their perfection is only reached when they are beyond the reach of bureaucracy and spring from the spontaneous depths of a man's heart and spirit. The competition in the future may be keener than it has been in the past. But it will be on a higher and less noxious plane. The merely economic life, where the "meum" will conflict with the "tuum," will be regulated by habit. It will

become like the digestive apparatus in the body which, as Carlyle showed in his suggestive essay on "Characteristics," functions all the more perfectly the less you attempt conscious interference. But in the higher phases of man's life, where the bigger "meum" means the richer "tuum"—in the region of moral and intellectual progress—what an amount of varied competition and activity! How we shall vie with one another in our proposals for a deeper and more generous life! How many associations will live and die in the sympathetic clash of schemes for moral and intellectual reform!

Rome was not built in a day, and it may take generations before the instinct to "best" one another in commerce is replaced by the mood of mind in which—

"All narrow jealousies
Are silent."

The races furthest removed from civilisation take to commercial bargaining with an avidity which shows that it responds to some cravings in the "savage breast." "How long does a palaver usually take to talk round here?" asked Miss Mary Kingsley in West Africa, when watching the operations of traders in a Fan village. "The last one I talked," said Pagan, in reply, "took three weeks, and that was only a small price palaver." Man must compete with his brother man, but there is no reason why the success of one should mean the ruin or failure of another. "A little generous prudence," wrote Milton, in the "Areopagitica," "a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite in one general and brotherly search after truth."

Developments like these mean a strengthening of the mind as contrasted with the outer links of society. In the third and fourth chapters it has been shown that the new Social Democracy will be distinguished by the increased emphasis which it will lay on the ethical and the religious. It is the voluntary associations of British

workmen which have been the most efficient agents in deepening the higher life of the people. They have taught self-control, governance, and to lose our life in the life of others. They have taught the workman to value the power and initiative of his leaders and to see the place of head as opposed to hand labour. There are two main circumstances which have brought people together into communities. There is first a likeness of aims, a similarity of trade, a real possibility of oneness in heart and spirit. There is, secondly, nearness or contiguity in space, the township, county, or modern state as we commonly understand it. The first means a possibility of moral discipline and progress, the power to agree and develop in common without coercion from above. The second, as it connotes no moral union, requires a race of officials to regulate and compel.* Universal Collectivism makes no provision for the real inner bond which alone can cement soul to soul. It clamours for more State control, while it forgets that the only final safeguard of a reformed society is moral and intellectual progress. The Anarchists were wrong in thinking there would be no central authority—no brain of the State—but they were right in so far as they declined to make it, like Spinoza's substance, "a lion's den in which all the tracks pointed inward and none outward."

The new Social Democracy cannot therefore be seriously perturbed by difficulties concerning State officials. If it looked forward to the reign of universal Collectivism it might well stand and pause. But in the growth of private associations it sees a gleam of light illuminating all the "slippery slopes" of the future.

* Necessarily so. Everyone who comes within the superficial area of these islands must conform to their laws. But a polygamist does not change his mind because he finds himself within a few yards of St. Paul's. It was not unfettered choice that determined his landing in Great Britain. Therefore you need a policeman to watch him.

It has already been pointed out that the Port of London Bill has allowed these private associations of workmen and employers to be represented on a Government body. All kinds of joint committees, with representatives of private bodies, are features of the legislative and administrative activity of recent years. There must of course be a large amount of work, which has still to be directed and controlled from the centre, and taxation, the income of the central power, is more and more to be used as a means of redressing the economic inequalities of society.

The new Social Democracy seeks to produce a race of self-reliant men and women who will rally to the call of justice. Across the lives of the greater part of our population there falls the menacing shadow of Poverty and Want.

“Halt! weiter nicht! Weib, kehre um,
Es winkt gebieterisch!
Ein schwarzer Schatten setzt sich strumm,
Und still an meinen Tisch.”

(Halt! not a step! Wife, turn your head,
The threatening terror's here!
A still black shadow, full of dread,
Has chased my table's cheer.)

The new Social Democrat must chase away these sinister shadows. He must bring help to the helpless. He must face the problem of destitution. He must see that a fair chance is given to every child. He must win for the “village Hampden” the right to his lost destiny. If the recent convulsions in the French world of State functionaries have taught us anything, they have taught us to meditate deeply on the process by which such a revolution can be accomplished.

VIII

ARE LABOURISTS RADICALS?

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN BRITISH POLITICS—
IMPOSSIBILITY OF ENTIRELY JUDGING BRITISH
POLITICAL SITUATION FROM FOREIGN PRECEDENTS
—ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENGLAND—
THE CHANGING BOUNDARIES OF PARTY—POLITICS
A CHOICE BETWEEN TWO SIDES—THE MIDLOTHIAN
CAMPAIGN OF 1879—ITS PROFOUND INFLUENCE
ON SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS—POSSIBILITY OF AN
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY—THE IMPOSSIBILITY
OF STRICT THEORY OF LABOUR INDEPENDENCE—
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BRITISH LABOUR PARTY
AND FOREIGN (ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH)—
SOCIALIST PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES — LABOUR
PARTY A WING OF A COMPLETE RADICAL PARTY—
THE PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM—
SIGNS THAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES ARE APPROACH-
ING NEARER IN THEIR POLITICS TO THE BRITISH
SITUATION.

“The times are troubled, old political faiths are shaken and the overwhelming exigencies of the moment leave but small breathing space for statesmen to examine the principles on which they found their practice.” This was one of the weighty sentences with which—so far back as 1882—the late Arnold Toynbee opened his suggestive lecture, “Are Radicals Socialists?” The times were times of transition. The Liberal Party was contemplating the appearance of many programmes

which were "new and strange." The old philosophical Radicalism was an ordered romance of the past. The new Radicalism which had risen in its place frankly called itself "Socialistic." There were in those days the makers of unauthorised manifestos who "saw visions and dreamt dreams"; but as if to show that prophecy does not always mean an accurate forecast of the future, it must be remembered that "the Radical programme"—a little red book published in 1885—confidently asserted that a third party in British politics "rests upon no other foundation than the purely hypothetical leaning towards neutrality with which the average Englishman is absurdly credited."

But the old Danish king could as little command the ocean as a "mere man" control the future of politics. In this region of social progress the unexpected frequently happens, and hence it is that in this year of grace we must—predictions notwithstanding—admit the presence of a third—or if the Irish Party be counted—of a fourth party in the "mother of Parliaments." In the present Parliament (1910) this fourth party even holds a share of the balance of power. Ministers of the Crown have to study its humours. Experienced journalists interpret the utterances of its leaders. Its sessional announcements take their place among the other lively oracles of the State. It therefore becomes a very pressing question what is to be the future of this Labour Party? Are we henceforth to have not less than three main influences in British political affairs? Will the Labour Party always remain an independent party? Are the Labourists going to absorb the Radicals, or will the Radicals swallow up the Labourists with less evident symptoms of indigestion than were shown by Jonah's whale in its historic performance many ages ago?

The question is a curious one, and many who answer it from the camp of the old Socialists at once confidently point to foreign precedents and parallels. They say that Socialism, which is the inspiring force in Labour

politics, is everywhere connected with a strictly independent party. The German Socialists find Radicalism reactionary and vote, while they cannot coalesce, with the Catholic Centre. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, and Finland, have their powerful Socialist Parties. Pablo Inglesias—an erudite but irreconcilable Socialist—has just been returned for Madrid. The successive Russian Dumas showed that this unhappy country could furnish from the ranks of its Left many stalwart minds who, like Horatius, were willing to battle against “fearful odds.” And the recent elections in France, which have sent the Socialists back to the Chamber with twenty-one more members than when they left it, are a further proof—if further proof be needed—that the politics of an Independent Socialist or Labour Party are making an indelible mark on the future fortunes of Europe.

To all such historical precedents and parallels the retort courteous must be given that in the upper reaches of Sociology analogies are to be used with caution. Every political crisis is a study by itself. The social organism is too complex and subject to far too many permutations and combinations of its conditions to make it certain without the most careful examination that the problem of one nationality is to any extent similar to the problem of its neighbour. The new Social Democracy—as has already been amply protested—must needs have its national colouring in different and contrasted lands. It cannot ride roughshod over every consideration of racial temperament and honour. It must look on every new set of conditions and “idea-forces” as it would look on a sun shining by its own light—sometimes dimly like Sirius, sometimes dazzling like our orb of day, but always requiring to be studied as an independent centre of force and heat.

If we are going to deal in any conclusive fashion with British politics, we must have a previous acquaintance with British constitutional history. The new Social

Democracy cannot hope to formulate its demands for every nation in a final and all-sufficient programme. Time was when, in the flush of their first enthusiasm, Socialists imagined that they could unite under the same red banner peoples "of every nation and country and tribe and tongue." There have been three great epochs in the history of International Socialism. The first lasted from 1866 to 1872; the second from 1872 to 1888; the third has gone on from 1888 to the present day.* In the first epoch, the members of the International, like the Roman Catholic Church, aspired to universal supremacy; in the second, Michael Bakunin and his friends revealed "the little rift within the lute"; in the third, the "new reformers" realised that in international politics there is no coercive power and that they came together simply as the representatives of national parties. What is fit for Russia cannot be fit for England. The circumstances of Germany are not the circumstances of the United Kingdom. Even France—nearer to us in many respects than any of the other countries—can give us but little direct guidance as to the future of our own British Labour Party.†

Politics in Great Britain is, or ought to be, a practical game. In other words, people in this country take sides in reference to some question on which a decision, on one side or another, may immediately be taken. How different is the case in the Imperial politics of Germany! There you have in the Reichstag an assembly which, on the great majority of issues submitted to it, is simply a debating society. Its discussions are of merely

* See "Die Socialistische Internationale," by Camille Huysman, in *Socialistische Monatshefte*, 5 Mai, 1910.

† It may be thought that in thus emphasising particulars of the national situation I am inconsistent with the last chapter, in which I have laid considerable stress on French analogies. But this is not so. In the last chapter I was dealing with the economic side of social life where symptoms of internationalism have appeared. Politics is a much more specialised order of social tissues.

theoretic interest. Its members can indulge every tendency to split into groups or refine on verbal differences.* You can separate them into the representatives of different interests and say that this body, the Conservatives, represents the landed proprietors; this other, the Centre, the priests; and yet another, the National Liberals, the business interests. Where there are no overmastering emotions to control his will, a man may be content to—

“Peep and botanise
Upon his mother’s grave.”

But once a great and burning question comes up to rouse the national conscience, or once it is evident that a man must make an immediate choice between God and the Devil! then the whole situation is changed “in the twinkling of an eye.” Theoretical distinctions cease to have the old fascination for subtle minds. The former “groups” must range themselves either on the Right Hand side or the Left. It becomes terribly and irresistibly true that “he that is not for me is against me.”

Macaulay, with the true instinct of the practical politician, has laid his hand on this in chronicling the rise of political parties in this country.† To him Whigism and Toryism are no temporary distinctions founded on objects of passing and merely ephemeral interest. They are examples of the two orders of mind which, wherever the salvation of society becomes pressing, eternally divide society. The one is satisfied with things as they are; the other yearns for change. The one likes novelty; the other takes its stand on order.

* No student of German political history can avoid noticing how much strength is expended in discussing *how* to do things. Thus Kolb, in his “Probleme der deutschen Politik,” holds that there has been “too much agitation, too little political education”; whereas Bernstein, in “Die Potenz Politischen Massentreiks,” is all for the “General Strike” as a means of political agitation.

† Macaulay, “History of England,” vol. i., p. 50.

The one is sanguine in hope and bold in speculation; the other "clings with fondness to whatever is ancient." Here we have the division of parties represented as founded on deep and permanent differences in the common human nature.

But in order that human nature may reveal the dichotomy at the basis of its being, human nature must be really roused. If your politics are a succession of court intrigues and your history a battle of the Frogs and the Mice, you cannot expect to get beyond "this dance of plastic circumstance" to where

"Thy soul and God stand sure."

Look, for example, at British political history before the Franchise Bill of 1884 brought the people to any extent into politics. In the days before and during the Great Rebellion a man had to choose between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads. There might be Muggletonians, Brownists, Fifth Monarchy men, Levellers, and all other modes and varieties of theoretical distinctions, but when the great issue became clamorous and Edgehill and Naseby were in sight, you had no alternative but to declare yourself on the Right Hand or the Left. How different when the Restoration had made men forget

"Heaven opened wide
Her ever during gates, harmonious sound!
On golden hinges moving."

In these latter days politicians lost their sense of the eternal distinctions of human nature. They seemed quick-change artists rather than men who defied all the world to storm the Thermopylæ of their convictions! The Ministries of the eighteenth century were mostly of a mixed character.* Cynics wondered that "half the

* Lecky's statement ("History of England," vol. i., p. 2), that the Whigs were in office in the eighteenth century until 1770 and that thereafter a Tory Ministry, only interrupted in 1782 for a few months, reigned till the Reform Bill of 1832, is surely too sweeping.

cleverest men of the country should take the utmost pains to prevent the other half from governing." Even after the Reform Bill of 1832 had been extorted from the Lords and "old Sarum" had become a memory of the past, the party labels had ceased to be of a strictly adhesive character. Of Sir Robert Peel, probably the greatest political mind of his time, it has been said by a recent commentator that "his whole political life is to the superficial observer, the mere partizan politician, a succession of paradoxes, inconsistencies, and contradictions."* These were the days when "the Tories saw the Whigs bathing and ran away with their clothes." The Earl of Derby, the "Rupert of debate," passed from the Whigs to the Tories. Lord Palmerston passed from the Tories to the Whigs. Lord Melbourne was once Chief Secretary for Ireland under Canning. Mr. Gladstone was first described as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." In the humdrum days of politics, when the game was played within the confines of the House of Commons, clever players showed their skill by the rapidity with which they put on a fresh disguise to deceive their friends the enemy. But let a live question come up to rouse men's minds to a new enthusiasm, and then the latitudinarian passed away like "a tale that is told." On Catholic Emancipation or on "Free Trade" the politician could no longer sit on the fence. Even Tapers and Tadpoles had to resign their conventional labels. On questions like these there could be no Right Centre or Left Forward, or any of the other nice differences in position which might separate men from one another in calmer times. It was Right or Left, it was "For" or "Against," it was "Yea" or "Nay."

The Midlothian Campaign of 1879 marked a decisive turning point in the history of British politics. Not that Mr. Gladstone himself was by temperament or

* "Peel," by J. R. Thursfield, p. 2.

training a revolutionist. He was a true disciple of Sir Robert Peel. For the greater part of his life the House of Commons was to him the centre of the political game. Even when, in 1885, he meditated a Home Rule Bill, he did not dream of frankly laying the question in all its bearings before the people themselves. His eyes were directed to the House of Commons. He would there develop the course of his tactics. He would carry Home Rule as Peel carried Catholic Emancipation and Free Trade, by skilful Parliamentary combinations.* But the course of destiny was really too strong for the Peelism of the veteran statesman. The Midlothian speeches became more and more an appeal to the masses. Henceforth it was the people themselves who were to become most important in the changes of political parties. How wonderful was the enthusiasm of these days of quick throbbing life! Up to this time Mr. Gladstone had been a statesman of the study and the cultured assembly. He had come straight from Dante's "Paradise" to astonish business men by the facility with which he handled great masses of figures. But now his portrait was to be seen in working class cottages all over the country. Crowds collected at railway stations to hear a casual word from him. Enthusiasts presented him with addresses and walking sticks. The retiring spirit of the student became the expansive mind of the people's orator, and it was one of the witticisms of the day that Mr. Gladstone was a Scotsman in Scotland, a Welshman in Wales, and only an Englishman when he was back again in his own North of England.

* He was not so successful as Peel, and Lord Morley has made a skilful attempt to redeem his memory from the reproach of having bungled. Lord Morley shows (1) that Mr. Gladstone had made certain references to the imminence of Home Rule in his speeches outside; (2) that he had consulted with his leading colleagues; (3) that his design was to force the Conservatives into Home Rule concessions; (4) that the present Lord Gladstone, by an indiscreet communication to the Press, forced his father's hands.

Formerly the people had been nothing, and the quick-change combinations of parties in the House of Commons everything. Now the people were gaining gradually the sense of a corporate consciousness. They were making the change from a "crowd" to some kind of "social organism." Up to this time the efforts to run Labour candidates for Parliament, as in 1874, had in them no spirit of persistence. They were the designs of men who appeared to get together casually for a definite object, but no sooner was their object attained than they dissolved again into their casual units. After 1879 men of genius like William Morris gained courage to go about proclaiming Socialism to the workers. Half-hearted attempts at popular organisation like the Labour Electoral Association perished before the resentment of the rising sense of power. The Caucus was born in the constituencies. The question was put as to whether Members of Parliament were not "delegates" instead of representatives. "Tory Democracy" tried to outbid Radical Democracy. Mr. Gladstone grew more and more insistent on his contention that the conflicts of the future were to be a conflict between the "classes and the masses." So completely did the future of the masses preoccupy his mind that he sometimes appeared to lay down the thesis that the people as opposed to their patrons "can do no wrong." "If we look back over the controverted questions of the last fifty or sixty years," he said at Calder on October 23rd, 1890, "the great changes which have taken place in the statute book and other great changes which have made themselves felt in other ways—if we look back over these things we find that upon most of these questions in the past the judgment of the labouring population of this country has been far more just, equitable, and enlightened than the judgment of the educated classes."

It was no longer going to be possible to lead the voter to the polling booth like a blind man being escorted over a crowded thoroughfare. Programmes

were produced, defended, and codified. "The blind Samson," who had felt his strength in the days of the Chartist was now learning how to take counsel in the house of his friends. The great dock strike of 1889 brought, as I have already shown, the "New Unionism" to birth, and 1900 saw the inception of the Labour Party. The question that has now got to be put is whether there is any future for such a third or a fourth Party? Has the situation changed materially since the people felt their power? In the old Parliamentary days men took sides either for God or the Devil whenever a question became pressing and clamorous. Now that the people are to be consulted it is certain that politics will become less a game of strategy and more an appeal to the fundamental instincts of our common human nature. It would almost appear that the tendency to divide into two camps will be more pronounced than ever. Black will be black and white white, and the intermediate combinations will be effectually washed off the tablets of our life.

Those who have most effectually supported the idea of a permanent additional party in British politics have generally founded their views on a future government by "groups," or on the Marxian idea of a "class war" in politics. There would then be a group representing the landlords, another representing the merchants and manufacturers, and why should there not be a third group representing the proletariat? The "pocket interests" of the master will inevitably draw him apart from his men. He may make all kinds of generous professions. He may be as full of aspiring idealism as an egg is full of meat. But, like the donkey drawn by the wisp of hay, the strongest motive—in his case the economic motive—must in the long run inevitably prevail. "It makes one incredulous," says Keir Hardie, "when one hears Labour men boast that they are using, or are going to use, Liberalism to achieve Labour reforms. The spectacle of a small community

of kids in the midst of a horde of wolves comforting themselves with the belief that they were about to use the wolves for their own advantage, would not be more absurd." The workman must never coalesce with his master's group. Neither for similar reasons must he coalesce with the group of landlords. Therefore he must fight for his own hand, and form a separate and self-sustained party.

Unfortunately for this theory, the course of political history is less and less inclined to go in such a direction. We have seen that in the pre-Midlothian days, when politics was the game of the House of Commons, the politicians separated into two great camps, apart from all merely "group" divisions, whenever a "living subject" of engrossing interest came in to stir the surface of the waters. Thus it was with Catholic Emancipation or Free Trade or the Education Bill of 1871. But when the centre of gravity changed, and more power went to the people from the politician, the tendency was to make the appearance of these living subjects much more frequent. Every sub-editor knows that "dead" news will not sell a halfpenny paper; and every party leader was to find that unless he "tickled the ear" of the "groundlings" he could never expect to come into office after a hard fought General Election. At first, programmes with many articles, like the Newcastle Programme darkened the air; but it was soon found that a single issue, calculated to appeal to the strongest passions or instincts of humanity, was much more fitting to take human nature by storm. Thus it was that in 1885 "free land" played a leading part in the election issues.* In 1886 it was the unity of the Empire. In 1892 Mr. Gladstone again made Home Rule the living

* Mr. Chamberlain's catchcalls were "Free Schools, Free Church, Free Labour, and Free Land," but Free Labour was subsequently added though "Mr. Chamberlain believed that it would be carried before any of the other reforms." "Joseph Chamberlain," by H. Murrell Marris, p. 92.

problem, but 1895 showed that he had only half convinced the great mass of the electorate. 1900, as is well known, was a Khaki election; and 1906 turned on Chinese labour in the towns, and a new land programme in the counties. In 1910 we are in the throes of an anti-House of Lords campaign, and it must be plain to every steadfast student of the situation that there never was a time when politicians were more manifestly divided into two camps—and two camps alone.*

The Labour Party did not do much at the Khaki election of 1900. Only two of its candidates actually won seats, and it was not until 1906 that any considerable triumph was won for the Labour Party. But the circumstances of the election of 1906 were in every way extraordinary. The country was tired of reaction. The captains and the shouting had passed away. There was a big bill to "foot." I have said that "Chinese labour" was the leading issue in the towns, and the candidates of the Labour Party found that issue specially congenial. They could direct men's attention to white as well as yellow slavery. They could point to the sweated sempstress at home as well as the exploited Chinaman abroad. And, besides, the people were so tired of the past that they were ready to run to the extreme verge of the precipice rather than get for the next few years a repetition of the years that had gone.

How different was the experience of the Labour Party at the election of 1910! There were then no triumphs as in 1906. The dissentient Socialists of their party are only too ready to put the whole story down in cold print. "At the General Election of 1906," says one of them, "and at subsequent bye-elections, the Labour Party repeatedly captured seats in three-cornered fights. So were won West Bradford and the

* Of course there was an abundance of Tariff Reform appeals, but they did not succeed in changing the issue. In many centres the result might have been different had Tariff Reform been the live question before the electorate.

Blackfriars division of Glasgow, Chester-le-Street and Deptford, Jarrow and Colne Valley. At this election, there is not a single victory in a three-cornered fight to record. Only one Labour Member of the late Parliament was opposed by an official Liberal; he was defeated. North-West Manchester was a Labour seat during the late Parliament. This year the Labour man is at the bottom of the poll with only 1,218 votes, as against 6,115 cast for his capitalist opponents.”* What does all this show? That when political feeling runs high, the British electorate divides into two camps, and into two camps alone. If a man will not make his choice between the two, he will be speedily submerged. Labour members were returned in 1910, just as in 1906, but they were only returned as they took their place in one of the opposing camps, *i.e.*, as one of the interests at issue looked upon the Labour Member as its special champion. The issue was House of Lords and anti-House of Lords, and the Labour Member only gained his seat as he represented the anti-House of Lords men. With such facts in view it does not look as if there is any abiding future for an independent Labour Party!

An objection may, however, be stated to this conclusion from the advocates of a third party! Granted they may say that the people tend to split themselves into two camps. Granted that the Labour Party will have to find itself in either one or another! Does not that simply show that either the Radicals will absorb the Labour men or the Labour men absorb the Radicals? In some quarters it is assumed that the Radicals must needs absorb the Labour men. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, though without any full statement of reasons, boldly adopts the other alternative! To him it appears that the Labour Party “should go on assimilating until it becomes one of the two great parties, or its principles and objects have become those of one of the two great

* “Party and People,” by Cecil Chesterton, p. 21.

parties.”* This conclusion is rather subtly expressed. It can only refer to the relations of Radicalism and Labourism because there never has been the slightest appearance of any single point of contrast between Labourism and Conservatism. But even if Radicals swallowed up the Labour men, Mr. MacDonald leaves a loophole through which, like the righteous remnant in Sodom, he hopes to escape. Radicalism has swallowed up Labourism! No doubt of it. But then, says Mr. MacDonald, “the principles and objects of Labour have become the principles and objects of Radicalism.” So he still expands his lungs with the shout, “Hurrah for the ever victorious party of Labour!”

It is at this stage that the question which I have put at the head of this paper is specially appropriate! Are Labourists Radicals? Have they such a set of principles of their own that you can clearly differentiate them for all who call themselves advanced reformers in the Liberal camp? Can you look forward to a time when these principles or programmes will have invaded the Radical Party, and entitle you to say that though there are only two parties, it is Labour that has conquered the Radicals?

Some of the believers in the victory of the Labour Party may take comfort from the case of France. Here is a country where Parliamentary government is very far developed. The Chamber is no debating society as the Reichstag is. It can make or unmake ministries. It can hold in its hands the key to its country's future. But in this country of quick-witted men and women the issue is gradually narrowing itself to one between the Radical-Socialists and the Socialists *sans phrase*. Look at the figures of the election of 1910, when a large proportion of the Members returned were new Members. Out of 597 Members, 277 were Radical or allied Socialists, while 76 were unified or opposed Socialists.

* “Socialism and Government,” by J. Ramsay MacDonald, vol. ii., p. 19.

Some French writers have looked forward to the time when a Catholic Centre will be formed in France as it is in Germany, and will become the party of order, as Socialism will become the party of revolution. But there is no appearance of such a party at the present time. The Catholic and Nationalist interests steadily lose ground at each succeeding General Election.

Mr. MacDonald would say that the British Labour Party represents the same interests as the French Unified Socialists! He would predict that they would yet become the leading party in the Republic, and as they stand fast and firm in the presence of Radicalism, so he would answer in the negative the question, Are Labourists Radicals?

But the cases are not in the least degree parallel. In the first place the French Unified Socialists are a real party, *i.e.*, they number amongst themselves representatives of all classes. In the second place, and as a consequence of this, they have a distinct programme, and so can readily be differentiated from the French Radicals.

In the first place, they are a real party. Make an analysis of the 76 men who now compose them in the Chamber. Of these, only 30 are workmen, employees, or Trade Union secretaries—the class which comprises most of the personnel of our British Labour Party! 8 are professors in secondary schools or universities; 3 are teachers; 6 are doctors; 5 are commercial men; 7 are journalists; 7 are small farmers; 7 are barristers; 2 are engineers or chemists. The British Labour Party suggests a fragment of the trunk of a party rather than the complete body of the party itself. Trade Union secretaries, or ex-secretaries, had heavy odds in their favour. Some of them have boasted that none of their number has passed through a university! The French Unified Socialism suggests no such idea of the “class war” in party life. It suggests a coalition of all the interests in life to unite in the cry “Justice for all.” In other words, you would expect such a representation of different

interests to be complete in itself. On the contrary, you would expect the more limited Labour Party to be the tail which has to be wagged by the dog.

In the second place, the French Unified Socialists have a distinct and readily differentiated programme from the French Radicals. They frankly admit being revolutionary. They are not the advocates of violence. They have long since ceased to believe in the barricade. But they present every reform as part of a plan for the complete transformation of society. They do not even shrink from the production of such a plan. In the Chamber of Deputies in 1908, M. Jaurés indicated that he had a complete Socialist code of law in preparation, and that it would soon be produced. "They say to me," said the same Socialist Statesman at Toulouse the same year, "Where is your Collectivist Paradise? It is a long time in coming! This is the way Clemenceau raises a laugh at my expense! Ah, well! The joke is a poor one! In spite of the many preoccupations that run away with my time, my plan is being thought out. It will soon be published, and some investigations which are now being made will put the finishing touch to it." Here we have the promise of a Socialist Utopia. The questions to be discussed and the objections to be met will be very much those discussed and met in Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism." Is Collectivism going to absorb all? Who must do the dirty work? What is to be the money of the future? How are you going to compensate your vanished race of capitalists? Will the workman get the whole reward of his labour? Now we are in a region which Radicalism has generally held to be as yet out of the range of "practical politics."

No one can, however, assert that the British Labour Party has followed the French Unified Socialists into this "ampler æther, this diviner air." It has always declined to put ultimate questions in its programme. It makes platonic declarations which seem to forecast Collectivism, but it is as far as possible from regarding

any such theory as "human nature's daily food." Sometimes, by the mouth of its leading representatives, it seems to go further than that. Thus in the debate of April 13th, 1910, in the House of Commons, on a resolution declaring "the rights of Trade Unions to provide funds for the election and maintenance of representatives to Parliament and local authorities," Mr. Shackleton denied that the objects of the Labour Party include "the nationalisation of the means of production."* Repeatedly in its conferences, it has declined resolutions which seemed to imply any immediate intention of throwing an extraordinary amount of work on the State. Look, for instance, at its sessional programme for 1910, as publicly announced in the order of merit of its "items"—

- (1) Trade Union Law (Amendment) Bill.
- (2) Unemployed Workmen Bill.
- (3) Education (Administrative Provisions) Amendment Bill, to make the feeding of necessitous school children compulsory on local authorities.
- (4) Forty-eight Hours a Week Bill.
- (5) Nationalisation of Railways Bill.
- (6) Eviction of Workmen during Trades Disputes Bill.
- (7) Compulsory Weighing and Measurements Bill.

The programme is satisfactory enough so far as it goes, but it seems to want additions to make it cover the whole field of politics. It is as far as possible from the ambitious designs of the French Unified Socialists, who would usher in a "New Jerusalem" whose bulwarks they had surveyed in every part and corner. It has certainly no leanings towards universal Collectivism, It would aggrandise the private Trade Unions rather than the State. It is "stage by stage" reform with no attempt to present each stage as drawing nearer to the

* See *Daily News* of April 14th, 1910.

complete transformation. Compare it with the social programme of the French Radical Socialists as laid down by a competent modern writer,* and expected to be realised by the ministry of M. Briand:—

- (1) New methods of taxation of capital and revenue, not only for revenue, but in the case of many of the members of the party for the purpose of promoting a juster distribution of wealth.
- (2) Synthesis of legislation protecting labour, involving a new legal code.
- (3) Social Assurance for Old Age, Sickness, and Unemployment, on contributory basis.
- (4) Extension of State and Municipal Enterprise.
- (5) New powers and functions for Trade Unions and Professional Associations.

This is a programme which strikes us as combining all that is best in the aspirations of our English Radicals and Labour Parties. At any rate it conclusively shows that our Labour Party is a British wing of the French Radical Socialists rather than the representative in Great Britain of the party of M. Jaurés. In some respects the point of view of the French Radical differs from that of the British Trade Unionist. The latter would make his Trade Union extra-legal. He would make it incapable of suing or being sued. The former, as I have already shown in the previous chapter, would make his Trade Union a corporation with property and power to acquire more, so that, as M. Millerand hopes, it may eventually dispense with the need for Collectivism and Commercialism by becoming the real industrial organism of the future.

It cannot, therefore, be said that by reason of any

* "Le Conflit des doctrines," by Charles Brouilhet, p. 93. In the statement of his intentions made by M. Briand at the end of May, 1910, there may be found an adumbration of much of this programme. To be quite complete it would have to be supplemented by Proportional Representation, an unsatisfactory form of which finds a place in the proposals of the French Premier.

distinctiveness of its object and programme the Labour Party can resist absorption by the Radical Party as it is now tending to constitute itself. Wherever politics become practical, the contest is narrowed to an issue between Right and Left. Over the whole field of Europe at the present day we see such a conflict being prepared. In France it is between "step by step" reform and the tendency deeply grained in the French nature to look on Rome as requiring to be built in a day. In Germany it will be between the Catholic Centre and the Socialists. In Belgium that fight is already being fought to a finish. In Italy Signor Luzzati—the remarkable Jew who has done so much for the Co-operative movement—will oppose the Syndicalists who would cry out for cataclysms to be preceded by a "General Strike." In Spain Señor Canelejas—the "Spanish Waldeck-Rousseau"—produces his Radical Socialist policy to stifle the cries of insurrection and to deal a blow at the paramount authority of the clerics. And, lastly, in our own country, Tariff Reform has been adopted by one of the great parties in the State to oppose not a Labour Party and a Radical Party separately, but to meet a "New Democracy" which shall unite into one all that is best in the Radical and Labour Parties.*

It is noteworthy that in all these countries the fight of the future will be between two great parties and that the appeal of both is to the people. The Fourth Estate, long ground down by opposition in the blood-stained history of human progress, is now coming back to its own. In France Radical Socialist and Socialist Parties alike read the "signs of the times" in popular assemblies. In Germany and Belgium the priests of the Catholic Centre promote Catholic Trade Unions and Clerical Working Men's Clubs to gather the artisans

* The action of the so-called "Confederates" in the Tariff Reform party shows this same tendency to obliterate intermediate opinions.

within the meshes of their net. Signor Luzzati, as one of the first acts of his new ministry, is sounding the Cabinets of Europe for an International Congress to be held in Rome next year for the discussion of certain aspects of a Labour Policy. In our own country the same tendency is equally manifest. Does not the Tariff Reformer emulate the "New Democrat" in his insistence on the facts of unemployment? Is not the catch-call "Work for all," an admission that all have the right to have work supplied to them?

The Labour Party cannot, therefore, maintain for any long period of time an existence independent of the Radical Party, but it must not be supposed that the movement begun in 1900 was a movement entirely in vain. It is well known that while opposed generally to Protection, the late J. S. Mill allowed it in the case of a young colony for the protection of its infant and timid industries. The analogy may be extended to the growth of an independent Labour Party. In the years before 1900, the working classes lacked cohesion. They had no corporate consciousness. They put up men for Parliament, and then they lapsed into a Rip Van Winkle sleep. They scattered easily before the serried phalanx which was presented to them by the middle classes. The idea of an independent party brought fresh vigour into their minds. It familiarised them with the idea of their power in the State. It roused in them the sense of common objects to attain and common interests to defend. So it was in 1863 and 1864, when, as I have shown in a preceding chapter, the idea of working class representation first practically saw its birth in France. There were ambitious programmes current among the enterprising democrats of that time. But there was nothing to teach "self-help" to the working men. Radical candidates were chosen by caucuses. The workman was supposed to give his vote, but he had no knowledge of the man for whom he was voting, and he had no voice in the settlement of the planks of his

programme.* The middle classes rather feared the working man. On the one hand they accused him of an affection for the "Red Flag." On the other hand they suspected him of complicity in the *Coup d'Etat*. France was not then ripe for working men candidates. But the impulse given to the cohesion of the working classes at that time was never lost. At the present time the great problem of all the advanced parties in Europe is to make their cause "broad based on the people's will." That is why Trade Unions have the power they have. That is why Socialism finds that it is impotent without the Trade Union forces on which to base its politics.

In the earlier part of last century, the old philosophical Radicals saw clearly that a permanent Third Party was impossible in British politics. "It is through public opinion," says George Grote, "that the reforms predicted in the Radical book of fate are to be carried. It is through public opinion that we are to spur the Whigs on to action. Expression is to be given to public opinion, and the Whigs are to be made to feel the force of it, in the constituencies, by keeping them constantly in a state of alarm of being ousted by Radical competitors in Parliament by occasional threats of being voted against by their Radical allies. But so long as there exists any material difference in the weight of Liberal measures which the Whigs and Tories severally are willing to offer to us, the biggest bidder, if in possession, is to be ousted from the Government."† It cannot be denied that the philosophical Radicals gained what they wanted. The most characteristic of

* "La Revue Socialiste," 1906, p. 161.

† "Life of George Grote," p. 110. Cf. also the important letter of J. S. Mill quoted by S. and B. Webb, "History of Trade Unionism," p. 272. Mr. Mill evidently intended the Labour representatives in 1874 to help the Radicals to break the power of the Whigs. "The working men's policy," he says, "is to insist upon their own representation, but in default of that success to permit Tories to be sent into the House until the Whig majority is seriously threatened."

their ideas became the official doctrines of a party that embraced them equally with the Whigs. In the above extract we see the stages of their progress. In their early days they would hold the balance between both parties indiscriminately. They would support the "biggest bidder," whether he called himself a Whig or a Tory. But latterly they saw that their hope lay with the Liberals. The fight was between two—and two only. It was "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." Equally is this "Pilgrim's Progress" true of the Labour Party to-day. They have done a great work. In Parliament they have formed a rallying centre for many an advanced cause. Out of Parliament they have given a mind and will to multitudes that before were nerveless and dumb. In their early days they might like the philosophical Radicals of old look on themselves as suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, between the heaven and the earth of the other two political parties. To-day they are part of the new Social Democracy, and they must render up a straight and honest answer to the reiterated question: "Are Labourists Radicals?"

* * * *

This chapter has already dealt very fully with the British situation, but a few sentences more may be added to elucidate the International problem of the new Socialist politics. There is no denying the importance in Europe of the old Socialist Parliamentary parties. From the latest statistics, published in July, 1910, by the *Social demokraten*, of Copenhagen, I gather that the total Parliamentary strength of avowed Socialist and Labour Parties was at that time as follows:—

Finland	-	-	84	out of 200 (42 per cent.)
Sweden	-	-	36	„ 165 (21.8 „)
Denmark	-	-	24	„ 114 (21 „)
Belgium	-	-	35	„ 166 (21 „)
Luxemburg	-	-	10	„ 48 (20 „)
Austria	-	-	89	„ 516 (17 „)

France	- -	76	out of	584	(13 per cent.)
Germany	-	45	"	397	(11.3 ")
Norway	- -	11	"	123	(9 ")
Italy	- - -	44	"	508	(8.6 ")
Holland	- -	7	"	100	(7 ")
Great Britain		40	"	670	(6 ")
Switzerland	-	7	"	170	(4 ")
Servia	- -	1	"	160	(.62 ")
Spain	- -	1	"	404	(.25 ")

In all about 10 million voters have contributed to these figures by voting for Socialist or Labour candidates. Finland's place of merit at the head of the list suggests pathetic reflections in view of subsequent events. But even if we consider Finland at the present time as blotted out of the list of constitutional governments we have a wide range of constitutions ranging from the democracies of Denmark and Sweden to the priest-ridden multitudes of Spain.

What is called the Syndicalist movement in the "old Socialism" is a protest against this pre-occupation with politics. The Syndicalist sees that each of the lands mentioned above presents a separate political problem. The Socialist is all for Parliamentary intrigues, and the struggle for Governmental power. The Labour M.P. feels that he does not represent Socialists simply, but the whole motley crowd of his constituents. He has to consult the exigencies of Parliamentary debate. He has learnt—to use the language of the third chapter—that "the lives of a policy laid down in a London lodging-house 'cannot apply with equal success' to the workman of every age and of every land." This seems to writers like M. Georges Sorel a "decomposition of Marxism." They call on Socialists to abjure politics and come back to the Trade Union as a unit of economic warfare. Then the fight will be international and not simply national. Then it will still remain a "class war" between masters and men. The economic circumstances of one country do not differ radically from those

of another. Commercialism in Spain employs the same methods as Commercialism in the Fatherland. The Unions will build up their strength from day to day. Their secretaries will cease to haunt the Parliamentary lobbies. They will trust to the General Strike as their ultimate court of appeal. Only then will they stand in the "last ditch" of a genuine and unadulterated Marxian Socialism.*

But no man and no movement can avail to arrest the course of history. Economics is one function of society, and politics is another, and as the great body of "Leviathan" approaches its maturity it inevitably develops the limbs of political warfare. Most nations, so far as the apparatus of politics is concerned, are in an immature condition. They offer no certainty for the equal representation of "classes and masses." But as time goes on their political circumstances will doubtless approach nearer to the international similarity of economics. The example of one country will help us more in dealing with the circumstances of another.

That is why this chapter—dealing as it does with the British situation—may not be without its international importance. In politics, we boast an immense superiority. We possess the "mother of Parliaments." We understand when to concede. When other revolutionaries were fighting in the "last ditch" the

* Full information about the interesting ideas of the Syndicalists will be found in George Sorel's "La decomposition du Marxisme" and "Reflexions sur la violence." Also in M. Challaye's "Syndicalisme Révolutionnaire," in which reference is made to the *Le Mouvement Socialiste*. The Syndicalist in all lands uses the same "tactics." The political circumstances of Portugal are different from those of France. But I turn to the Portuguese paper, *Avante*, of July 10th, 1910, and find there an article, "Socialismo Revolucionario," in which reference is made to the "intrigues" of Parliaments and diplomatists, and the conclusion is reached:—"Por isto mesmo, á imitação do que se faz em Franca, em Hespanha e na Belgica, preconisamos para o futuro—o socialismo revolucionario." This might have been written by "King Pataud."

Chartists were gathering huge multitudes under the banner of "universal manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, and payment of Members." But already there are signs of approaching similarities. The South German States, like our Labour M.P.'s, have made up their mind to support an official Budget. Signor Ferri, one of the most learned Socialists in Europe, has come to the conclusion that Socialism need not be absolutely estranged from the powers that be. The new Social Democracy takes note of these admissions. It sees in the fact that in Great Britain the Labourists are Radicals, a prophecy of the universal political policy of the Socialism of the future. Men will be reconciled. Class Government will cease. The Referendum will bring the people into consultation, as in the days of the Greek municipal State. Politics, now one of the most individual, will then become one of the most synthetic studies of sociology. From the side of theory and practice the conclusion stands secure. There is no permanent need for a party of merely class interests in Parliament.

IX

THE RIGHTS OF REASON

REASON HIGHLY SPECIALISED—A LUXURY OF LIFE—
DEPENDENCE OF THE OLD SOCIALISM ON PHILO-
SOPHICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS—HEGEL AND MARX—
THE ABSOLUTE STATE—THE DIALECTIC DEVELOP-
MENT—THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND PRAG-
MATISM—DIFFERENCE IN ITS PHILOSOPHICAL
OUTLOOK—AMIEL'S FAILURE TO LIVE THE ABSO-
LUTE LIFE—THE DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY OF
THE FUTURE.

The subject gets more complicated. Further and further has the argument proceeded until it reaches a still more specialised function of social life. No community—ancient or modern—can boast that any but a small minority of its members have at their beck and call the power of the speculative reason. Relatively few men and women are able to take the intellectual interest or bestow the intellectual activity to follow to any great length a connected argument. Reason may be a gift of Greek civilisation, but it is still in great measure a luxury of life. Sceptics may even regard it as simply a by-product of evolution. Gusts of passion, spasms of sudden excitement, easily make us forget the conclusions of our cool argument. Rouse the war fury in a nation's life, and philosophy has no leisure to paint its "grey in grey."

There may be some who would seriously question whether the new Social Democracy need make any acquaintance with the "cloud-capped palaces" of pure

thought. The Social Democrat is a practical reformer. He wants to *do* something for society. He wants to make the world better than he found it. Reason and speculation seem far aloof from the troubles and sorrows of ordinary life. "Metaphysics and theology," says Mark Rutherford in the preface to his Autobiography, "including all speculations on the why and the wherefore, optimism, pessimism, freedom, necessity, causality, and so forth, are not only for the most part loss of time, but frequently ruinous. . . . If we wish to be happy and have to live with average men and women as most of us have to live, we must learn to take an interest in the topics which concern average men and women. . . . To 99 young men out of 100, or perhaps 99,999 out of 100,000, the wholesome, healthy doctrine is, "Don't bother yourself with what is beyond you; try to lead a sweet, clean, wholesome life; keep yourself in health above everything; stick to your work; and when your day is done, amuse and refresh yourself." A modern variant of this is the gospel of "the Strenuous Life." The outcome of it all may be summed up in the words of Anatole France, quoted in an earlier chapter: "Do not load your brain with too many useless facts."

In reality, however, the great philosophers who have tried to crush human life within the "iron jaws" of their categories have almost been most human.

"There never yet was a philosopher
Who could endure the toothache patiently."

Locke, in his letters, is not above discussing where the best chocolate is to be found in London.* Kant, despite his celibacy, is able confidently to say in his "Observations on the Sublime and the Beautiful," that "blue eyes have more of the beautiful, but black eyes have more of the sublime." J. S. Mill, as we know from

* See "Original Letters of Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Shaftesbury," London, 1830, p. 34.

many grateful testimonies, was throughout his life "a very present help" to many who were "in a time of trouble." If philosophy is the rarest blossom of the life of scientific reason, there is no foundation for the conclusion that philosophers live on airy heights far away from "the common growth of mother earth."*

At any rate, the "old Socialism" had a very distinct connection with systems of philosophy. Social problems have always had a great fascination for philosophical minds.† Plato wrote "The Republic." Campanella produced "The City of the Sun." Bacon dwelt in "The New Atlantis." Karl Marx himself was a "young Hegelian." In the forecast of the third chapter an idea has already been given of the philosophical influences which determined the growth of his system. At one time Marx was so enthusiastic about Hegel that he discussed "the matter" with Proudhon whole nights at a time. In after days he forgot "the hole of the pit whence he was dug," but, however much he might disagree with the system of Hegel, he was vitally affected by the Hegelian method.

The truth is, that a chapter must be devoted in this book to "The Rights of Reason," because the "old Socialism" cannot be understood without it. Again and again in "Das Kapital" does the method of the Hegelian dialectic appear above the surface. Marx never seems to feel himself on firm earth until he can get a

* Further illustrations of this connection of philosophers with social problems may be found in Josse's "Die Philosophie des Individualismus und die bürgerliche Gesellschaft," *Neue Zeit*, March 15th, 1908.

† "You are quite a philosopher, Sam," said Mr. Pickwick. "It runs in the family, I b'lieve, sir," said Mr. Weller. "My father is very much in that line now. If my mother-in-law blows him up, he whistles. She flies in a passion and breaks his pipe; he slips out and gets another. Then she screams very loud and falls into 'sterics'; and he smokes very comfortably, till she comes to agin. That's philosophy, sir, an't it?" (Dickens, "Pickwick Papers").

development where one moment is a "negation" of the other. But as soon as he gets such a "negation" he feels it can warrant a "projection" in pure thought. He can go on confidently to predict the future in the true spirit of Hegel, whose early followers believed him to possess the "absolute truth."* The famous chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," which has been like the "breath of life" to enthusiastic Socialists in many a land, really derives all its power from the fact that it is worked out on the lines of a dialectic development. Private property appears first in the world's history. Then it is negated by capitalist property. But from the dialectic point of view the "notion" of "capitalist property" is not one in which the intellect can rest. The manufacturer needs "hands" to work for him. He has "capital," the stored up accumulation of the past. Everywhere he has to depend upon *social* forces. And yet he works his concern for his *private* gain. There is an inner contradiction in the very "notion" of "capitalist property." Hegel would have said that it must be resolved into the "unity" of a higher notion. Marx preferred to say that this "negated notion" must be again "negated" by the idea of "Socialist property" in the "means of production."†

It is important to draw special attention to this point because it illustrates how Marx was led astray by his reliance on "the rights of reason." There is no part of the Marxian philosophy which is being more directly contradicted by the subsequent evolution of society than this. There never has been a fatal and irresistibly

* See the Preface to Vera's "Introduction à la Philosophie de Hegel," Paris, 1864.

† For a full discussion of Marx's agreements and differences in his use of the Hegelian dialectic see "Marx und die Dialektik," by Max Adler in "Der Kampf," vol. i., p. 256. The account in the text of the third chapter needs to be read in connection with this discussion in order to give a complete idea of the subject.

necessary movement in history towards Socialist property. The "pain and the patience" of these Marxian negatives have availed little to hasten the coming of the new day. The notion of "company property" as opposed both to "private" and "single capitalist" property has introduced complications into the dialectic of which Marx little dreamt. And instead of the Trusts threatening to collapse by the contradiction of the inner "notion" on which they were based, the Trusts, as shown in the fourth chapter, are laying hold of the whole machinery of the State and threatening to crush it completely under their "iron heel." If the Hegelian or any other dialectic is going to head us straight for "Socialist property," why is it necessary for Socialist M.P.'s to haunt the Parliamentary corridors and initiate legislation destined to win new recognition for the Fourth Estate? Evidently because there is no "fatal tendency" towards the acquisition of the people's rights. Parliamentary tactics have to be studied in real earnest. Socialists have to take part in the higher and more special activities of society's life where blind fate does little or nothing and the human will is all in all.

On another point which has been shown by the previous discussions to be supremely important for the new Social Democracy, the Hegelian dialectic led Marx very much astray. It has been already shown that Marx did not work out the details of a complete Collectivist State. Cæsar de Paepe, Bebel, Kautsky, Schaeffle, and Mr. Sydney Webb have had more to do with the practical programmes of Collectivism than ever did Marx himself. But there is no doubt that the tendency to dominate from above and move men like marionettes, which Marx showed so conspicuously in his direction of the "Old International," was strengthened in him by his Hegelian studies. Hegel lived in an enchanted land of pure reason. Its hills and its plains, its oceans and its rivers, were haunted by a weird creation of shades whom Mr. F. H. Bradley has picturesquely

called "an unearthly ballot of bloodless categories." He aimed at giving the assurance of rationality. He made the human spirit confident of its invincible powers. He saw in the whole tangled history of the world a development in thought from Being which was at the same time Nothing to a final state where "we must have nothing which is not an expression of reason." Then at last in his "Philosophy of History," after a long dialectic development through all the stages of human advance, he arrived at that final state where everything was perfect and all contradictions were easily to be reconciled. What was this celestial community? "The government," says Hegel, "rests with the official world, and the personal decision of the monarch constitutes its apex. Those who know ought to govern."* In other words, the philosopher went out in search of a Paradise and found it in—the Prussian bureaucratic State. Marx attached no more value to the "personal decision of the monarch" than does Mr. Keir Hardie to-day, but assuredly he was influenced by the thought that "those who know ought to govern." Who shall say that there is not here the beginning of the rule of the expert?

Without this overwhelming confidence in the "rights of reason," Marx's new gospel would have been deprived of half its revolutionary power. When the "old Socialism" spoke of "Value" or "Surplus Value" or a "measure of Value," it spoke of them not as conventional standards, not as prices reached in local circumstances after a "higgling of the market," not as determined in their incidence by the vagaries of the human will, but as "entities" and "quiddities," real objective existences, true and unchangeable physical constants, as irrefragable as mathematical axioms and as

* Hegel; "Werke" (1848), ix., p. 545. For his confident knowledge of the inner secrets of history see "Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Philosophie" (1883), vol. i., p. 60.

firm as the mother earth on which the thinker stood. Who can extinguish the prophetic fire of one who has gained a firm grasp of the fundamental principle of this all-mastering Hegelianism?

“Truth is within yourself ; it takes no rise
From outward things, whate’er you may believe,
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness.”

There are no unknown and unknowable forces hovering at the doors of our self-conscious personality. There is no unconquerable and implacable environment to interpose “many a slip” ’twixt the Collectivist cup and the Socialist lip. “Man,” says Professor Henry Jones, “is in fact only another name for his world.” None more explicitly than Karl Marx recognised “the materialistic interpretation of history”; and yet the influence of this ambitious gospel of the old Hegelianism led him into interpretations and forecasts which revealed an almost idolatrous worship of the power of reason. Most of the unbending rigidity of the old Socialism, its economic pertness, its Collectivist Utopias, its political unfriendliness, its elect sainthood, spring from the feet of its unlimited confidence in the objective reality of its progress towards the perfect State—a State in which it will be given to everyone according to his ability and to every ability according to its works.

The new Social Democracy has to recognise that the philosophic circumstances have changed since the days of Karl Marx. There is not now the same unbounded confidence in the “rights of reason.” Reason without will is like a body without the soul. It was impossible for any individual—even for Hegel himself—to maintain himself for long in this “high access of mind” where he could lay hold of the objective realities of the world and see the whole field of learning and life—to use Spinoza’s pregnant phrase—“*sub specie aeternitatis*.” Perhaps the boldest attempt that has ever been

made to live this life of the spirit was made by Amiel of Geneva. Listen to his wonderful language. "The phantasmagoria of the soul cradles and soothes me as though I was an Indian Yoghi, and everything, even my own life, becomes to me smoke, shadow, vapour, and illusion. I hold so lightly to all phenomena that they end by passing over me, like gleams over a landscape, and are gone without leaving any impression. Thought is a kind of opium: it can intoxicate us while still broad awake; it can make transparent the mountains and everything that exists." In order to accomplish this wonderful life of thought, Amiel sacrificed everything—home, career, the ambition to produce. Nothing must be allowed to mar the unity of his thought. No differences could distract his intoxicated contemplation. And the result was that the neglected will cried out for satisfaction. Amiel was profoundly unhappy. He felt he had tried to take a short cut to the ultimate mystery of the universe, and instead of attaining he had only contrived to get mystified on the way. "Perhaps it is through love," he sadly cries, "that I shall find my way back to faith, to religion, to energy, to concentration." Reason has its rights, but surely these rights are not absolute and unlimited.

It is at this stage that Sociology comes in to help the new Social Democracy. Sociology is the crown of the sciences. It aims at discovering the "soul of the universe." It beholds an "organic unity" in what seem the disconnected remnants of society. But Sociology discovers at its very earliest stages that there are forces outside the individual will. The essential note of a sociological type of phenomena is, according to Professor Durkheim, that it is "endowed with an imperative and coercive power."* You cannot reach the "secret of the world" by a philosophical *tour de force*. You cannot impose the thoughts of your own narrow mind on the

* Durkheim, "La Méthode Sociologique," p. 6.

spacious differences of the universe. Sociology, as its very name implies, is not individual, but social. In the future there will be thinkers. Who would avoid even the labour and toil of thought? "Our pleasure," says Professor W. James, "at finding that a chaos of facts is at bottom the expression of a single underlying fact is like the relief of the musician at resolving a confused mass of sound into melodic or harmonic order."* But the thinker has not finished his work when he has written a book and launched forth into the "world of learning" a new philosophical system. His work is only then half done. His concepts have to be tried in economics. They may influence theology. Lawyers may find precedents in his dicta; politicians may apply his abstracts of human evolution to the legislation of the future. The "absolute philosophy" will be no product of the individual reason. It will be no elaborate dialectic spun out in the solitude of a single brain.

"Each age, each kindred adds a verse to it,
 Texts of despair on hope or joy or moan."

The thinking of the future will be profoundly democratic. History is the great experimental laboratory in which all thoughts are tried. The rights of reason will be vindicated by the efforts of the will. Societies will be formed for speculative discussion, just as we have already seen that voluntary associations in other fields of life will be a feature of the future. At present thinking is a comparatively rare faculty of select strata of society. The new Social Democracy shows how thinking requires for its due fruition the co-operation of the million.†

* W. James, "The Sentiment of Rationality," *Mind*, July, 1879, p. 320.

† Bergson even shows that we have something to gain from the ants and the bees: "L'évolution creatrice," p. 110. See also Maeterlink, "Life of the Bee."

Practice will claim its right in the Social Democratic faith of the future.* There will be no desire to deny the rights of reflection. "Men of action," says Anatole France, "live entirely for their moment, and their genius is concentrated on one single point. They are constantly renewed, but they do not grow. The hours of their life are not bound one to another by a chain of grave disinterested thought." Yet no system can be dogmatic which has to shape itself in an existence of "stress and strain." The new Social Democrat witnesses the trial of many cherished schemes. He sees the pet Utopias of favoured thinkers miserably fail in the competition of the real world.

"Ah ! but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for."

Experience has brought humility to his soul. He is not inclined, as many of the old Socialists were, to seclude himself from the world's life. He claims no "magic secret" of proletarian knowledge. He recognises in politics that the true path of legislation is to be found by the efforts of all classes in the State. In economics he admits that "Value" or "Surplus Value" or "a unit of value" are no rigid concepts wrought out on the anvil of a rationalistic philosophy, but "concepts" that change and fade, conceptions which have been found to be useful for gathering together certain orders of facts, but whose import may be altogether changed by the mutations of sociological thought and practice.

The new Social Democracy does not claim to have found a Collectivist Paradise. It has never announced the discovery of an absolute or stationary State. It may make forecasts of the future. It may see visions and dream dreams. But the values of these have to be

* It will be remembered that Mr. H. G. Wells postulates a "Good Will" as essential for the realisation of his Socialism.

tested by their effects on practice, just as M. George Sorel asks us to test his idea of the "General Strike" by the stimulating effect it has on the combined federations of the associated workmen.* Undoubtedly the faith of the new Social Democracy is profounder than the faith of its fathers. It sees in its ultimate principle no blind force, no heartless Fate, no unknown sport of irreversible decrees. It recognises rather in society analogies to the human body. A whole school of Sociologists see nerves, brain, ganglia, blood-vessels in the great mass "extended many a rood" of Leviathan. The ultimate principle of society must at least have life. You cannot speak of it in the materialistic language which the Socialist used in the earlier days. And life works from within outwards, not from without inwards. Anyone who has studied the "new Biology"—the Biology of Verworn or Driesch—must be struck at the increased emphasis laid on inward development. Less is said of "natural selection." Some of them give it a very limited importance. But all of them feel that there is a co-operating power—the "*élan vital*" (vital spurt) of Bergson—which alone enables society to realise its ultimate destinies. Patiently along the toilsome road of its progress works the new Social Democracy. It has no extravagant hopes. It does not bar or ban. It tests reason by experience. But it sees in the life of society more than the fatuous struggles of purblind individuality. The pages of history are as the revelation of the voice of God.

* Those who study biographies must admit that there are few lives—if, indeed, any lives—which do not yield fresh gleams of insight to those who search for it.

X

REVIEW AND CONCLUSION

THE COMPLICATIONS OF SOCIETY—HOW TO DO IMMEDIATE WORK FOR THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF ASSOCIATION IN A MODERN SOCIETY—A SUMMARY OF RESULTS ATTAINED—MUST THE REFORMER START AT THE SIMPLEST SIDE OF SOCIETY'S LIFE?—A CONSIDERATION OF MODERN EUGENICS—EUGENICS LEADS FORWARD TO RELIGION—ECONOMICS LEADS FORWARD TO POLITICS—LAW, POLITICS, AND REASON NEED TO BE MADE MORE GENERAL RELATIONS OF SOCIETY—ART AND RELIGION IN THEIR INFLUENCE FOR THE FUTURE—THE DANGERS OF REALISM—THE NEED FOR A REVIVAL IN CHRISTIAN LIFE—PAST MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF CHRISTIANITY—HERMANN KUTTER'S REPLY—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A SWISS MOVEMENT IN NEW CHRISTIANITY—A PRESSING WORK FOR THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

My task is all but ended. Society now stands revealed in all its complications. It has

“Relations dear and all the charities
Of father, son and brother.”

Economic organisations exploit the globe to amass new stores of ducats for their treasuries. Art devises more exquisite forms of beauty. Religion adds to the number of its devotees. Law is enshrined in fresh statutes. Politics presents to Social Democracy more puzzling

studies in tactics. Reason seeks to solve the riddles of the Sphinx. Is it a matter of wonder that this discussion has shown how much more complex and yet how much more hopeful the work of the new Social Democracy is than the old Socialism had ever supposed?

But a last guide-post is necessary to help the ardent searcher for "worlds unrealised." The new Social Democracy is the art of which Sociology is the science. It means something practical. Sociology might conceivably have left us Social Plutocracy or Social Aristocracy or Social Autocracy. Instead of these others it has left us Social Democracy. The new Social Democracy cannot therefore remain a vision in the air. We might as well have had Plutocracy or Aristocracy if the Democracy is not to be translated into the organisation of the State.

In all practical work it is advisable to go one step at a time. What, then, is the next step in the new Social Democracy? What is the most pressing duty? How can an enthusiast most efficiently help forward the coming of the new day? These are the questions which come most naturally to the lips of a reader who has plodded through all the pages of the preceding chapters.

Society, in its texture, is varied and changeable. The preceding chapters have shown how baffling are its various combinations. Gradually fresh light has been shed on the gross darkness of the people.* In the earlier part of the book considerable help was gained by the application of biological analogies. The elements of society were called its "tissues." Societies with too much self-consciousness of their nutritive arrangements become dyspeptic, like Wall Street on the occasion of a "panic." States live, grow, and die, just like any individual child of earth. Sociology has undoubtedly its biological side, but as the discussion proceeded the

* A most interesting discussion of elementary sociological laws may be found in De Greef, "*Les Lois Sociologiques*," p. 99 *et seq.*

systems of society's organised life, which were called "tissues" from the biological point of view, came to be called "associations" from the more strictly sociological standpoint. A society in this later terminology is an assemblage of many associations. Their number appears endless. They are made and re-made. The frontiers of states are changed. Kingdoms rise and fall. The monogamic family crosses national frontiers. Traders get rubber from the remotest recesses of the Congo. Is there any way of introducing simplicity into the study of these innumerable associations? Cannot some appearance of order be introduced into what seems the chaos of society's life?

Fortunately, it soon became possible to see the signs of progression in this immense complexity of sociological data. Some of these associations deal with relations more simple and general. Others deal with relations more complex and special. Or, to put the matter in another way, some of these associations have less of the voluntary character about them. They are so vitally connected with the simplest conditions of society's growth that without them no sort of a society would be possible at all. All of us spring from a centre of family life; nearly all form fresh centres of family life. The bachelor is as much a sociological freak as the Piccadilly dude. But when we come to "Aristotelian societies" or "sociological societies," which claim to reconstruct the world on a basis of pure reason, we find that many are called but few are chosen. The pursuit of reason is as yet a severely specialised part of organised life. Numerous examples of this have been discussed in the lengthy expositions of the previous chapters. In economical combinations everything seems in the hands of cruel necessity. Man—and woman too—must eat to live, and societies of masters and men stand confronting each other with the menace of discord and strikes. In politics, on the contrary, there is the prospect of ameliorative arrangements under the guidance of the "Good

Will." Systems of representation may aim not at class warfare but at the satisfaction both of majority and minority. As the sociological organisation gets more complicated, its associations are not so numerous. But what they lack in numbers they make up in the hope they shed on the aims and ends of social life. The future seems more in the power of the present. All discords appear reconcilable in the power of a "higher unity."

To particularise the previous paragraph, the different types of association in society may be ranged in the following order, from the more simple and general to the more special and complex :—

- (1) Domestic associations.
- (2) Economic associations.
- (3) Religious associations.
- (4) Artistic associations.
- (5) Juristic associations.
- (6) Political associations.
- (7) Rational associations.

The old Socialism was insufficiently equipped with this preliminary sociological analysis. To it push-pin appears as good as poetry. August Bebel, the German Socialist leader, argues as if men and women can exercise their "natural passions" undeterred by any serious considerations of reverence and religion.* Karl Marx would have considered the war between the North and South of America as determined altogether by considerations of the pressure and arrangements of the food supply.† The previous chapters have shown—I hope conclusively—how futile is all this. The new Social Democracy cannot dispense with its sociological apparatus.

The question "What is the next step?" still, however,

* Bebel, "Die Frau und der Socialismus" (31st edition), p. 93.

† This point of view will be found set out at great length in "Economic Foundations of Society," by Achille Loria.

remains unanswered. It is an inference from the previous sociological analysis that the Social Democrat who wants to transform society should begin with its simplest and most general relations? Or, because the special relations are more voluntary in their character is it advisable to begin from above and work downward?

In concluding this problem let me start with the domestic relations—the simplest and most general of all. The family is the elementary unit of communal life. The tribe is only a complication of families. “If the normal type of primitive marriage,” says Mr. A. E. Crawley, “is the bisectinal exogamy seen in Australia, which amounts to cross cousin marriage, two families, A and B, intermarrying for generation after generation, we have found a theory of the origin of the tribe, an enlarged dual family, and we have also worked out a factor which may have done much to fix racial types.”* Territory and the family are the elements of primitive society. So long as the savage simply lives on the land the savage develops no economic combinations, but when the family adds to its functions the manufacture of clothing, tools, and utensils, it becomes an economic as well as a domestic association. It is needless to say that the new Social Democracy has no nefarious designs on the sanctity of family life. The old Socialists used loose language on the subject and made their ideas the object of innumerable embittered attacks. Their misconceptions and violences all proceeded from the want of a preliminary scientific analysis of the elements of society.†

But notwithstanding this full recognition of the

* “Sociological Papers” (Sociological Society), 1905, p. 20.

† It has already been pointed out that Marx and Engels gained most of their knowledge of primitive society from Morgan’s “Ancient Society.” This notable book propounded a theory of primitive promiscuity, but Morgan especially mentions that he has not taken into account the religious sanctions of society. Engels did not recognise this in his “Origin of the Family.”

family tie, it may be advisable to begin a reconstruction of society with some proposals for the regulation or amelioration of family life. Economic conditions have made havoc of many old family conventions. The problem play has held up to the public gaze some of the inmost secrets of domestic life. As the sociologist studies the statistics of modern communities he is struck with the falling birth-rate of all the peoples that appear in the van of modern civilisation. Here, for example, is a table showing the co-efficient per 1,000 inhabitants of French natality for decennial periods since 1770:—

1770-1780	- -	38.0	1851-1860	- -	26.7
1801-1810	- -	32.5	1861-1870	- -	26.4
1811-1820	- -	31.6	1871-1880	- -	24.5
1821-1830	- -	30.8	1881-1890	- -	23.8
1831-1840	- -	28.9	1891-1900	- -	22.1
1841-1850	- -	27.4	1901-1908	- -	20.9

This table speaks for itself. It is eloquent in its forebodings for the future of civilisation. At the end of the fourth chapter I pointed to the ominous fact that just in those districts of modern societies where slums multiply and life gets crowded and corrupted, there the birth-rate is high with monotonous regularity. Wherever, on the other hand, the standard of life is heightened and men and women aspire to live an equable and often a refined and rational life, there the birth-rate is low and gets lower continually. This generalisation must be extended to nations in order to show the full extent of civilisation's danger. The nations which are most progressive show a diminishing birth-rate. The nations which are most retrograde pour forth a "devastating torrent of children."

To meet this menace, Mr. Francis Galton propounded to the first meeting of the British Sociological Society his fascinating proposals for a "new earth" to be reached by the practice of Eugenics. The scientist would improve the breed. He would lay down his plans for a

systematic stirpiculture. He would forbid the casual *amours* of haphazard love-making and have it all done according to a prearranged plan and pattern. I am not concerned to go into the question here in all its details.* I am only interested with it in so far as it seems to be a scientific hint that the new Social Democracy must begin immediately at the very bottom of society's life. In this connection, it must be added, Mr. Francis Galton offers little encouragement. He knows very well that he cannot induce a disillusioned world to practise Eugenics right off on its own account. He has recourse to religion for the sanctions of his new reformation. "It seems to me," he says, "that few things are more needed by us in England than a revision of our religion to adapt it to the intelligence and needs of the present time." This sentence is perfectly conclusive. Mr. Galton cannot begin with eugenetic considerations if Eugenics is to be an ultimate success. In other words, every radical reform in society presupposes a change in all its relations, but in order to effect that change it is not always advisable to begin with the simplest and most general relations in the whole field of social life.

Certainly it is impossible to put our trust in economics alone. A large part of the burden of this book's message has been the recognition that there is no fatal or necessary economical march towards Social Democracy. Socialistic societies have had to go into politics. Executive and legislative initiative is needed if the world is to be redeemed. May it not, therefore, be the case that this discussion has begun at the wrong end of the scale? Should the Social Democrat not start in the upward reaches of society? Cannot he argue men into Socialism? Or may we not in the

* Serious—in my view, insuperable—objections have been made to Mr. Galton's proposals by Mr. H. G. Wells, "Man in the Making," ch. ii.

twinkling of an eye make men wise by act of Parliament? Or was not M. Jaurés right when he promised the French Chambers a complete legal code which would usher in the new day of a renovated Socialism? These are the questions which a practical Social Democrat has at once to answer.

No one can dispute their importance. No one refuses to admit that they have their part to play in hastening the coming of the day. But the question is, Are they the most immediately pressing? Would the man who tries to argue the world into Socialism discover huge audiences hungering and thirsting for his "feast of knowledge and flow of soul"? Do you find that the people run in great armies to crowd the polling booths of the State immediately its doors are opened? Are all judges new Social Democrats? Can you ensure that your code of laws would be explained by the Courts in accordance with the intentions of Parliament? The answer, alas! is that you cannot. There does not appear to be much hope of immediate success if you begin to transform society from above downwards. You appeal to the elect, not to the great mass of men and women. Some other preliminary work is needed. "Wanting is—what?"

By the method of exhaustion we are now left with art and religion. Here if anywhere we can produce a mighty change in the fortunes of the new Social Democracy. On art it is unnecessary to linger long. The fifth chapter has already brought us face to face with the significance for the future. The novel has taken the place of the Elizabethan drama. Politics, philosophy, economics, the "irrational knot," all find their place in the storyteller's mystery. Mr. H. G. Wells has dived deep into the secrets of the future. Reality—the simple truth—has been delineated—warts and all. Men have gone back to the simple legends of the world's youth to get nearer the people's heart. How many of our modern poets have found inspiration in "The Holy Grail"?

Tolstoy has bade men turn their thoughts from tinsel rhetoric or elaborate oratorio to the simple tale or the sweeter melody. Art may seem in very truth to hold

"The keys
Of darkness and of morn."

And yet we are conscious of many reservations! The attempt to see reality—warts and all—has too often served to throw a limelight on the warts. "In the physical world," once said finely M. Alfred Fouillée, the brilliant French Sociologist, "sickness is more contagious than health; and in the domain of art the powerful reproduction of life with all its injustice, poverty, suffering, folly, and even its sinfulness and shame brings with it a moral social danger which it would be wrong not to recognise." The penny-a-liner can rouse an immediate public excitement by portraying the sayings and doings of a criminal. George Meredith, in one of the artistic classics of the history of Social Democracy, makes Lassalle a "tragic comedian," and puts into his mouth the words, "Barriers are for those who cannot fly." In the books of Anatole France the naturalism of Jérôme Coignard attracts more readers than the idealism of the "white stone." It does not always happen that the true poet is himself a "true poem." "Jude the Obscure" finds domestic ties and conventions a barrier to the progression of his inward life. And the consequence is that art, great as is its influence, is unsettling in its tendency. Instead of cultivating the "beautiful soul" of society, it presents us with a world crowded with existences "profusely mixed of good and evil, of generous ire and mutinous, of the passion for the future of mankind and vanity of person, magnanimity and sensualism, high judgment, reckless indiscipline, chivalry, savagery, solidity and fragmentariness."

Religion still remains. It occupies a favourable

position in the scale of sociological relations. It is very near the great heart of humanity. It is only surpassed in simplicity and generality by domestic and economic ties. It has excited to high deeds of generous ardour. It has forced men into crusades to seek the Holy Land. It has nerved the Covenanter in deadly peril on a lonely moor. It has produced martyrs, prophets, and saints. It has maintained more voluntary societies for transforming human life than any other relation known in the realm of sociology. Dr. H. Zeller, director of the Statistical Bureau in Stuttgart, estimated that in 1909 there were of the 1,544,510,000 population of the world 534,940,000 Christians, 175,290,000 Mohammedans, 10,860,000 Jews, 300,000,000 Confucians, 214,000,000 Brahmins, and 121,000,000 Buddhists. The professing Christians, it will be seen, claim more than one-third of the total. Reckoning all who in the different elections in various countries have voted for Socialists, and adding on women and unfranchised members of the community, the total number of Socialists in the world can only be brought up to 25,000,000! When this number is compared with that of professing Christians there is a wide margin for possible recruits.

In the fourth chapter an account has already been given of the improved Social Democratic attitude towards religion. The earlier Socialists saw religion only as embodied in an authoritative and often tyrannical church. Its dogmas were mediæval, not modern. It basked in "Paradiso" or writhed in "Inferno" when thralls were in suffering at the castle gates. So the legend arose in the "old Socialism" that religion was other-worldly, that it cared little or nothing for the struggles and sufferings of oppressed spirits in the working world of to-day! The new Social Democracy has none of these haunting suspicions and fears. It holds out the friendliest of hands to Christianity. It has abjured that ironclad Collectivism which taught it to seek its ultimate salvation at the hands of experts

alone. It agrees with Mr. H. G. Wells that "an educational process and a moral discipline are not only a necessary part but the most fundamental part of any complete Socialistic scheme."

Granted that the new Social Democracy is friendly to Christianity, is there any evidence from the other side that Christianity, with its history and its enthusiasms, is growing more friendly to the new Social Democracy?

A powerful voice comes back in reply from Zürich: Switzerland will always be an interesting land both for Democracy and Christianity! In the days of the Reformation it won back religion to new ardours of moral heroism. "Geneva, under Calvin, became the centre of a new strength which went out into all Europe, to cope not unsuccessfully with the enormous powers of repression which the Inquisition began to put forth."* It has never taken very enthusiastically to the "old Socialism." Its democratic fervour, enthused with the spirit of religion, was repelled from much of the teaching of Engels and Marx.

The book, "They Must," of Hermann Kutter,† who in 1898 was elected by the people minister of the neumünster in Zürich, is a sign that a change is taking place in the attitude of Christianity to Social Democracy. The book has had a wonderful influence. Translations have appeared in France, Holland, Sweden, Russia, and the United States. Reviews have appeared in the magazines of Socialism and in the journals of evangelical religion. It is evident that it appeals to a deep current of religious feeling in many different lands. It may safely be taken to predict a coming turn of the tide.

Hermann Kutter makes no pretensions to membership in any Social Democratic society. In this consists

* Mark Pattison, "Essays," vol ii., p. 7.

† Mr. Richard Heath has given an abstract of this book in his "Social Democracy. Does it mean Darkness or Light?"

his significance. But he sees more clearly than most of his contemporaries the religious core of Socialism.* As I pointed out in my introductory chapter, the "old Socialism" has evoked in its devotees a truly religious spirit. It too has produced apostles, prophets, and martyrs. It has called forth the same spirit of enthusiasm and desire to evangelise the world which Christianity did in the days of its prime. Why, cries Kutter, should Christianity lag behind? Why any hesitation at the parting of the ways? "Social Democracy has come and given a new impulse to those eternal 'musts' which the Church has buried. Social Democracy proclaims to the world that it must be made anew, that all things must become new! It arouses the masses—threatens, reproaches, promises. 'This is revolution,' cries the Church. But it is only a dawn of that mighty power which in the Gospel puts all things in motion and drives them on." One by one he goes over the promises of Socialism. One by one he shows that a renovated Christianity has a fuller gospel in every point. Revolutionary—who is more revolutionary than the Christian who believes in a "new earth"? Sin—who denies its reign more conclusively than the Christian? "Law and morality"—who is more keenly alive to their imperfections? International and unpatriotic, who saw the vision of "multitudes of every nation and country and tribe and tongue?" If we would know what Jesus was, we must fasten our thoughts on such words as "I do

* Primitive Christianity—as the *Didache* has demonstrated—was first presented by its apostles as a choice between "two ways." It is this necessity for decision in religion which is in Mr. Graham Wallas's mind when he tells us ("Human Nature in Politics," p. 195) that "the most easily manipulated state in the world would be one inhabited by a race of Nonconformist business men." Politics—as the eighth chapter has shown—would be revolutionised if every voter realised the imperative necessity of choice. Of course the second chapter has added that to really recast the state, politics—the more special—must affect the more general activities of society, i.e., the economical relations.

not my own works, but the works of him that sent me," and first of all upon his declaration, "The Kingdom of heaven is at hand." Hermann Kutter's book is a challenge to Christendom to produce God-intoxicated men and women. The new Social Democrat can do nothing better than help him to realise it as early as possible.

Who can doubt the significance of such a Christian renovation for the immediate task of the new Social Democracy? Christianity will safeguard the "domestic charities." It will recognise that a certain minimum of economic comfort is necessary for the success of its appeals. It will spiritualise art; it will make it unnecessary for Anatole France to taunt judges with "absolving the Pharisees and condemning the Magdalen"; it will permeate the political electorate; it will see the same God in beatific vision which philosophy vindicates as the "good will" of the new Social Democracy. Above all, it will intensify the people's hopes, it will deepen the people's self-sacrifice. It will give a new dynamic to democratic appeals. It will persevere in the midst of persecution. It will grow great in difficulty and trial. It will produce great revivals of popular enthusiasm. It will link the new Social Democracy to countless acts of divine self-surrender, which in the days of the past have created new movements and made the name of religion great:—

"O young Mariner,
Down to the haven,
Call your companions,
And crowd your canvas,
And, ere it vanishes
Over the margin,
After it, follow it,
Follow the Gleam."

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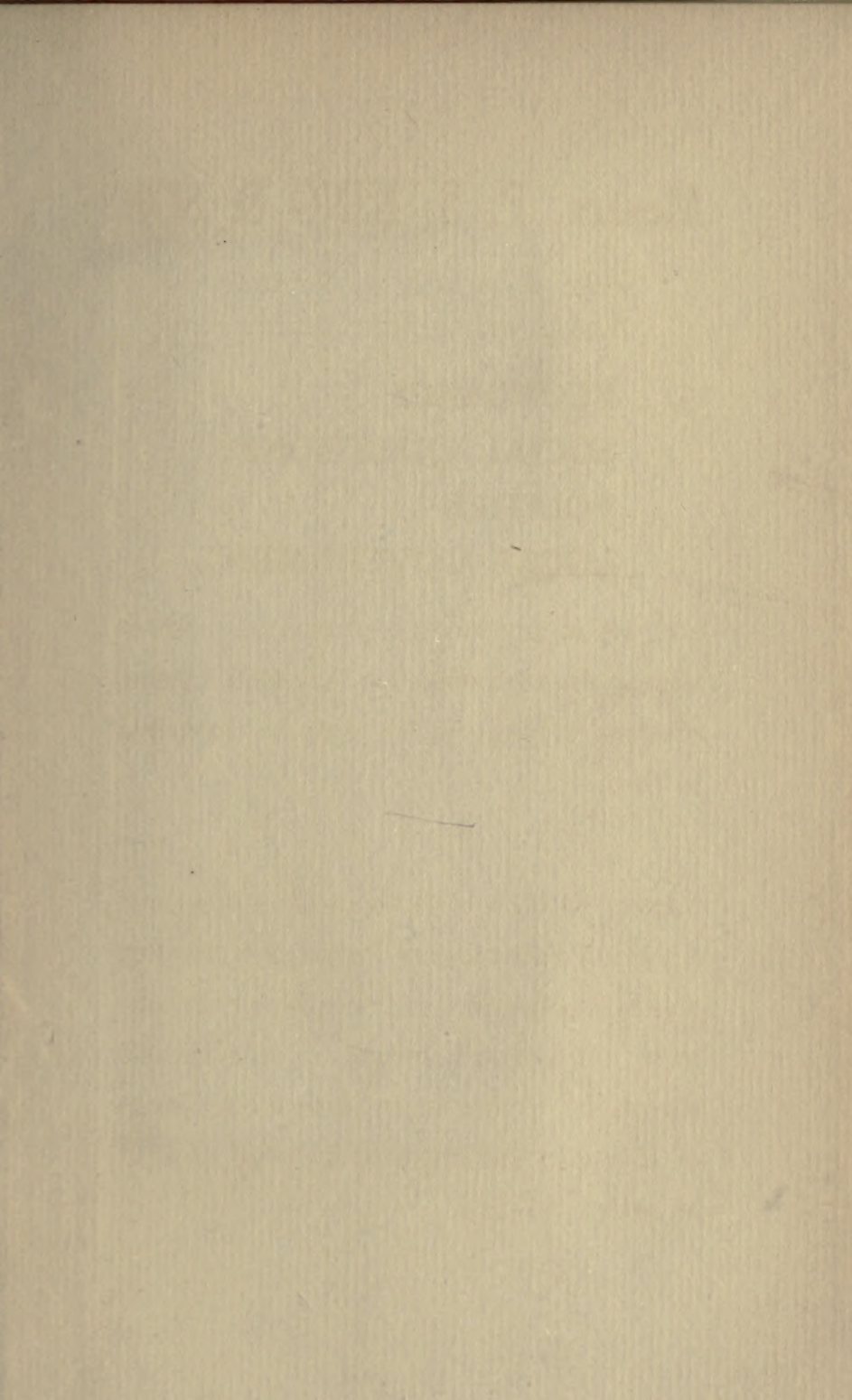
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